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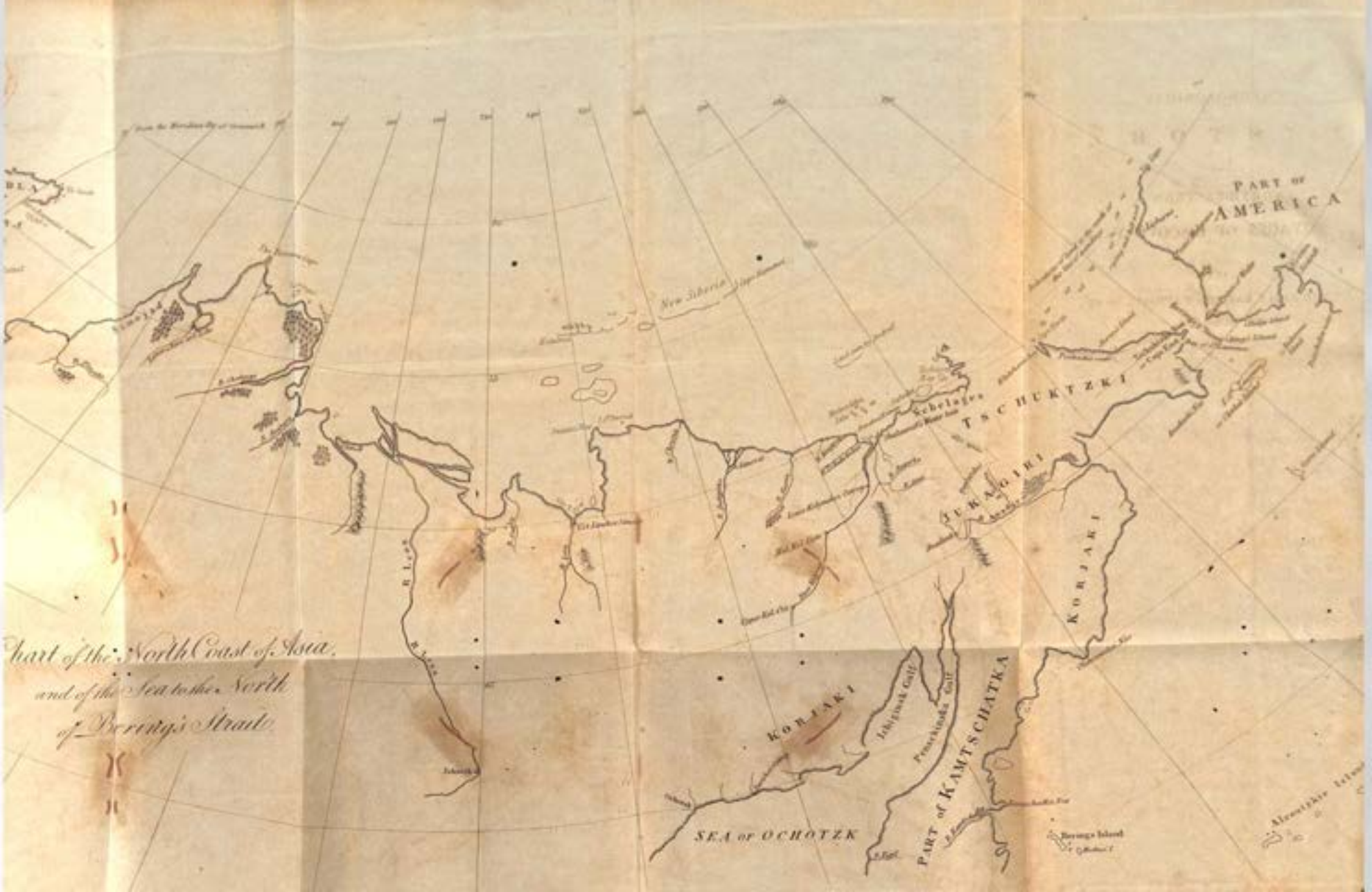

Chart of the North Coast of Asia,
and of the Sea to the North
of Behring's Straits

A

CHRONOLOGICAL

HISTORY

OF

NORTH-EASTERN

VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY;

AND

OF THE EARLY EASTERN NAVIGATIONS OF THE RUSSIANS.

83829

BY

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LONDON:

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons, Lincoln's-Inn Fields,

FOR PAYNE AND FOSS, PALL-MALL;

AND

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

1819.

IV. f. 33.

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PREFACE.

It had formerly been my intention to annex an Account of the Maritime Discoveries of the Russians as a Supplement to my History of South Sea Discoveries; but a small advance showed the difficulty of such a work, and the imperfections to which it must be subject, if undertaken without a knowledge of the Russian language; the want of which limited the materials I was able to consult, to translations, and to works composed in other languages. Under such a disadvantage, I relinquished the design of making the Russian discoveries an appendage to other voyages, and with the less reluctance, as they are perfectly distinct

from the discoveries made by other maritime nations. What I had written I reserved for future consideration; and now on resuming the subject, I have aimed no farther than to examine the northern navigations of the Russians, and the north-eastern voyages of discovery from the European seas, except to add, as I proceeded, such brief account of the other early expeditions of the Russians as should preserve a general and connected view of the whole.

May, 1819.

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CHAP. I.

Concerning the earliest knowledge obtained of the Sea North of Europe *and of* Asia. *The first Voyage known to have been performed round the* North Cape *of* Europe.

AMONG the ancient geographers, and until the discovery of *America*, the most common division made of the portion of the Earth now called the old Continent, but which its inhabitants then believed to be the whole Earth, islands excepted, was into three parts, namely, *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Africa* or *Lybia*; and the opinion most generally entertained was, that this one great Continent was bounded on all sides by the sea. Consequently, without the knowledge of any fact relating thereto, there could not fail to exist a belief of an *hyperborean Sea*; and hence, more than from any actual notice or intimation which had reached the Greeks concerning the remote Northern parts of the World, it may be supposed, that Eratosthenes, (who lived 194 years before the Christian era), believed the *Caspian Sea* to be a gulf of a Northern Ocean. Strabo entertained the same opinion with Eratosthenes, although long before, Herodotus had affirmed the *Caspian* to be a sea having no communication with

CHAP. I.

any other sea, and had described its extent, 'that 'a swift rowing boat would in fifteen days 'measure its length, and its extreme breadth in 'eight days.' This proportion in the dimensions, if not very exact, is sufficiently near the truth to prove that Herodotus spoke from real information, although what he asserted came afterwards to be discredited. But with respect to a Northern or hyperborean Sea, Herodotus acknowledged that in his time it was by no means determined whether to the East and North *Europe* was limited by the Ocean *.

There can be no doubt that in the time of the elder Pliny, distinct information had been received concerning the Northern coasts of *Europe* and *Asia*. '*Asia*,' Pliny remarks, 'is beaten upon 'by the main ocean in three parts; to wit, on the 'North side, and there it is called *Scythicus*; on 'the East, and there it is called *Eous*; and on the 'South, and there they name it *Indicus*' †.

Both in Pomponius Mela‡ and in Pliny §, the following

* *Melp.* Cap. 45. Herodotus was born 484 years before the Christian era.

† *C. Plinii. Nat. Hist.* 6. 13.

‡ 'Ab iis in Eoum mare cursus inflectitur inque oram terræ 'spectantis orientem. Pertinet hæc a Scythico Promontorio ad 'Colida: primumque omnis est invia: deinde ob immanitatem 'habitantium inculta. Scythæ sunt Androphagœ et Sacæ: distincti 'regione, quia feris scatet, inhabitabili. Vasta deinde iterum loca 'belluæ infestant usque ad montem mari imminentem nomine 'Tabin.' *Pomponius Mela de Situ Orbis.* Lib. III. cap. 7.

§ 'A Caspio mari Scythicoque oceano, in Eoum cursus inflec-
'titur,

following description is found:—'Beyond the 'Caspian Sea and the coast of the Scythian 'Ocean, the land projects far towards the east, 'the front of its shores rounding towards the 'rising sun. The first part of the coast, from 'the Scythian promontory, is not habitable for 'the snows. The land next adjoining is uncul- 'tivated, because of the ferocity of the people 'which inhabit there. These are the Scythian 'Anthropophagi and the Sacæ; men who feed 'on human flesh, and therefore near them are 'vast solitudes, except that they are inhabited 'by multitudes of wild beasts. Thus every 'thing in this country is ferocious, beginning 'with man. Beyond the solitudes are other 'Scythians; then other solitudes, the haunts of 'wild beasts, as far as to the mountain (or ter- 'mination of a ridge of mountains) hanging over 'the sea, which is called *Tabin*.'

CHAP. I.

In our present geography what will best answer to the *Scythian promontory* is difficult to say. The opinions of the geographers of the 16th century appear to point at the *Taimura*, the most northern

'titur, ad orientem conversa littorum fronte. Inhabitabilis ejus 'prima pars, a Scythico promontorio, ob nives: proxima inculta, 'sævitia gentium. Anthropophagi Scythæ insident, humanis 'corporibus vescentes. Ideo juxta vastæ solitudines, ferarumque 'multitudo, haud dissimilem hominum immanitatem obsidens. 'Iterum deinde Scythæ. Iterumque deserta cum belluis, usque 'ad jugum incubans mari, quod vocant Tabin.' C. Plinii, Nat. Hist. Lib. VI.

CHAP. I.

northern known land of the old continent, for the *Scythian promontory*; to correspond with which, the *Mountain Tabin* would be the *Schelatzkoi Nos*, if a probability could be conceived that by any means of communication then existing, information concerning that extremity of *Asia* could have reached the Romans.

Ptolemy did not give credit to the accounts of a Northern sea, and terminated his geography northward with a chain of mountains to which is given the name of *Hyperborean*, professing all beyond those mountains to be unknown.

Whether knowledge was obtained respecting the northern coasts between the days of Ptolemy the geographer and those of our King Alfred it is impossible to say. The north men must in all times, in those of old especially, have possessed geographical knowledge of which the Greeks and Romans were ignorant; but in the time of Alfred is to be dated the first distinct information received of the sea which is the boundary of *Europe* to the North, by people capable of recording discoveries. This was obtained in a voyage made by a Norwegian chief, or Northlander, named Ohthere, or Ochter, who appears to have been engaged in the service of King Alfred, to whom he related his voyage, and which that illustrious prince wrote down in the Anglo Saxon language. By Ochter was discovered the Northern extremity of *Europe*, emphatically since named the *North Cape*; before whose voyage

Ochter.

voyage, no part of that coast, or of the North coast of *Asia*, can be said to have been visited, or to have been seen, by any other than the rude native inhabitants. It is not too much to say in praise of the Royal historian and of the Voyager, that few modern discoveries are more clearly and intelligibly described than this voyage and discovery made by Ochter*. The following translation is copied from Hakluyt†:—

His Voyage related by King Alfred. A. D. 890.

The report of Ochter *to King* Alfred, *about the year* 890:—'Ochter said the country where-'in he dwelt was called Heligoland; and that he 'dwelt farthest North of any Norman, that 'he dwelt towards the North part of the land 'towards the West coast; and affirmed that the 'land, notwithstanding it stretches marvellous 'far towards the North, yet it is all desert and 'not inhabited, unless in a very few places here 'and there, where certain Finnes [people so 'called] dwell upon the coast, who live by hunt-'ing all the winter, and by fishing in summer. 'He said that upon a certain time he fell into 'a desire to prove and know how far the land 'stretched Northward, and whether there were 'any habitation of men North beyond the desert.'

'Whereupon

* It was published in the original Anglo Saxon by the Hon. Daines Barrington. English translations of the voyage are in *Hakluyt*, in *Dr. Reinhold Forster's Discoveries in the North*, and in *Turner's History of the Anglo Saxons*.

† *Hakluyt*, Vol. 1. p. 4. edit. of 1599.

CHAP. I.

890.

'Whereupon he took his voyage directly North 'along the coast, having upon his steereboord '[right hand side] always the desert land, and 'upon the leereboord the main ocean; and con- 'tinued his course for the space of three days. 'In which space he was come as far towards the 'North, as commonly the whale hunters used to 'travel. Whence he proceeded in his course still 'towards the North as far as he was able to sail 'in other three days. At the end whereof he per- 'ceived that the coast turned towards the East, 'or else the sea opened with a main gulf into the 'land, he knew not how far. Well he remem- 'bered he was fain to stay till he had a Western 'wind, and somewhat Northerly; and thence he 'sailed plain East along the coast still so far as 'he was able in the space of four days. At the 'end of which time he was compelled again to 'stay till he had a full Northerly wind, for-so- 'much as the coast bowed thence directly to- 'wards the South, or at least wise the sea opened 'into the land he could not tell how far, so that 'he sailed thence along the coast continually full 'South, so far as he could travel in five days; 'and at the fifth day's end, he discovered a mighty 'river which opened very far into the land.

The North Cape of Europe.

'At the entry of which river he stayed his 'course, and in conclusion turned back again, 'for he durst not enter thereinto for fear of the 'inhabitants of the land; perceiving that on 'the other side of the river the country was 'thoroughly

'thoroughly inhabited; which was the first peo-
'pled land that he had found since his departure
'from his own dwelling: whereas continually
'throughout all his voyage, he had evermore on
'his steereboord, a wilderness and desert coun-
'try, except in some places a few fishers and
'hunters who were all Finnes, and all the way
'upon his leereboord was the main ocean.'

The five days sailing towards the South by Ochter, shews clearly that he passed round the *North Cape* of *Europe*; and though nothing additional occurs in our books of voyages concerning his discovery, the knowledge of it did not pass away; on the contrary, it will be seen that when the desire of finding a Northern passage to *India* first induced the maritime nations of *Europe* to fit out expeditions, both to the North of *America* and to the North of *Europe*, with that intent, the European coast to beyond the *North Cape*, was more known than in Ochter's time.

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CHAP. II.

Voyages made by the English and by the Hollanders, in search of a North East Passage from the European Seas *to* India.

CHAP. II.

RUSSIA, or *Moscovy*, is said not to have been regarded as an independent state before the tenth century, and at the time of the discovery of *America*, was an inland country, with the exception only of a small portion of the coast of the *White Sea*. All to the Eastward of *Moscovy* was marked in the maps with the general denomination of *Tartary*. So great have been the political changes in that part of the world in the three last centuries, that in the present limits of the Russian dominions is comprehended more of sea coast than is possessed by any other nation of the globe.

The Samoyedes.

The countries, or coasts of the lands, situated Northward and North-eastward of the *White Sea*, were inhabited by a miserable, diminutive, and filthy people, called Samoyedes, who lived by fishing and hunting. The word Samoyad is said to signify man-eater, or, according to some, self-eater, meaning probably, that they esteemed the flesh of a departed friend to be as good

good fare as that of an enemy. It is even related of them, which however must be supposed exaggeration, that sometimes to regale a stranger, they would kill a young child and dress it! These Northern savages, inhabiting the shores opposite to *Nova Zembla*, have, with much injustice to the Southern natives of the same continent, been called the Hottentots of the North. Here we see the Scythian Anthropophagi who are spoken of by the ancients: but howsoever that may be, these people, the Samoyedes, carried to an annual fair which was held by the northern Moscovites, remarkably fine furs, which induced the Moscovites to visit their country, and the Czar Iwan Basilowitz to make the Samoyedes his subjects.

It was in the commencement of the reign of this same Czar, that some merchants of *London* joined and formed themselves into a company, to send out ships 'for the search and discovery 'of the Northern part of the world, to open a way 'and passage to new and unknown kingdoms.' At the head of this company was the celebrated Sebastian Cabot, then at a very advanced age. The sum of 5,000*l.* was subscribed in shares of 25*l.* each, and three small ships were built or bought, named the Bona Esperanza, the Bona Confidentia, and the Edward Bonaventura. Sir Hugh Willoughby sailed in the Esperanza, and was appointed General or Admiral, with command over the whole. The other ships were commanded

1553. Voyage of Sir Hugh Willoughby.

CHAP. II. 1553.

commanded by Captains Cornelius Durforth and Richard Chancelor. They fell down the *River Thames* on the 20th of May, 1553, and a rendezvous was appointed at a port of *Lapland*, named *Wardhuis*, which is to the Eastward of the *North Cape* of *Europe*; by which it is evident that the *North Cape* was then well known to the English. Towards the end of July, they were among Islands near the coast of *Norway*, which were subject to the King of *Denmark*. The only merchandise found there was dried fish and train oil. 'On the 2d of August, in the latitude of 70°, they were at an Island, which by the natives, some of whom went to the ships, was named *Seynam*.

After passing *Seynam*, the ships were separated by a violent wind in the night, but the Admiral, and the Bona Confidentia, met again and sailed in company past the *North Cape*, and endeavoured to find the port of *Wardhuis*, the rendezvous appointed. They went so far to the Eastward as to be by their reckoning 160 leagues, E. by N. from *Seynam*. Which of the Islands in the present charts answers to *Seynam* cannot with certainty be said, but it is supposed to be the one marked with the name of *Senjen*. The Bona Confidentia became leaky, on which occasion they plied all the latter half of August to get back to the westward, to find a port for her relief. They came to land which was uninhabited, 'but it appeared that people had been 'there

'there by crosses and other signs.' These must have been Russians. At length, on the 18th of September, the Bona Esperanza and Bona Confidentia entered a haven, where they anchored in six fathoms depth. Here the ships were afterwards found by Russian fishermen, with the unfortunate crews frozen to death. A journal found on board one of the ships, of which Hakluyt has given a copy, says, 'After remaining a week in this haven, seeing the year far 'spent and also very evil weather, as frost, snow, 'hail, as though it had been the deep of winter, 'we thought best to winter here.—We sent out 'three men SSW. to search if they could find 'people, who went three days journey, but could 'find none: after that, we sent other three men 'westward four days journey, which also returned without finding people. Then sent we 'three men South East three days journey, who 'in like manner returned without finding of 'people or similitude of inhabitants.'

By the directions in which they sought for inhabitants, it appears that to seaward was between the North-west and the East, which agrees with what Hakluyt has added, *viz.* 'The river 'or haven where Sir Hugh Willoughby with the 'company of his two ships perished by cold, is 'called *Arzina* in *Lapland*, near to *Kegor**.—It 'appeared

* Dr. Reinhold Forster has remarked that to the Eastward of *Kola* in *Russian Lapland* there is a river named *Arzina*; but *Kegor*, near to which, we are told above, the harbour of *Arzina* is situated, is to the North-west of *Kola*.

CHAP. II. 1553.

'appeared by a will found, that Sir Hugh and 'most of his company were alive in January '1554.'

On the outside of the journal was written, '*The Proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughby after 'he was separated from the Edward Bonaventura.*'

Richard Chancelor's Voyage.

Richard Chancelor, who commanded the Edward Bonaventura, after the separation, had the merit to prosecute the intended voyage with his single ship, and the good fortune in so doing; of performing essential service to his country as well as to his owners. He went to *Wardhuis;* the place appointed for rendezvous, where he remained seven days. He afterwards arrived with his ship in the *White Sea,* near the mouth of the *River Dwina,* where he landed, and travelled thence to *Moscow.* The Czar treated him with kindness and distinction; and in consideration of this discovery, or first accomplishment, of the route by sea from the *Atlantic* to *Arcangel,* he granted large and exclusive privileges to the English nation, which were enjoyed many years by the English Russian Company.

The following description given by Chancelor, of *Moscow,* shows it to have been at that time a place of great business, and that its intercourse extended then to the Northern sea coasts. '1 take *Moscow* to be greater than *London* with 'the suburbs; but it is very rude, and standeth 'without all order. Their houses are all of tim- 'ber, very dangerous for fire. The ground [coun- 'try round] is well stored with corn, which they

'carry

'carry to the city of *Moscow* in such abundance 1553.
'that it is wonder to see it. You shall meet in a
'morning seven or eight hundred sleds coming
'from or going thither, some carry corn, some
'fish. Some that fetch corn from thence dwell
'at the least 1,000 miles off, and all their carriage
'is on sleds. Those which come so far, dwell in
'the North part of the Duke's dominions, where
'the cold is so extreme it will suffer no corn to
'grow.'

1556. Stephen Burrough.

In 1556, Steven Burrough, an Englishman, who had sailed the first voyage with Chancelor, advanced as far to the East as the *Waigatz*, or *Strait* between the Continent and *Nova Zembla*, which was then well known to the Russians. Burrough was at one time in that voyage in company with, or in sight of, thirty Russian vessels, called Loddies or Loddings, the smallest of which had thirty men. An island near *Nova Zembla* was called the *Island of Crosses*; and the master of one of the loddies described to him the way to the *River Ob.*

1580. Pet and Jackman.

In 1580, two English barks, commanded by Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman, passed the *Waigatz Strait*, but eastward of the *Strait* was so full of ice, that after some ineffectual attempts to advance, they were obliged to sail back. Nevertheless they found a good depth of sea to the East of the *Waigatz*, having at one time 70 fathoms water.

It

CHAP. II.

1580.

It is said in Purchas, vol. III. p. 805, that before the year 1584, a Russian vessel navigated to the *River Ob*, where her people were murdered by the Samoyedes. Also, that on the Russian side of the *Ob* dwelt a tribe of Samoyedes, called *Sibierski*; which name seems to have some affinity to the name *Siberia*.

The next attempts, that have been thought worthy notice, to discover a passage to *India* by the North-East, were made by the Hollanders, in a series of voyages undertaken in three successive years. The merchants of *Holland* wished, or rather, they were determined, to participate in the advantages of a direct trade with *India*, which the nations of *Europe* had hitherto left exclusively in the hands of the Spaniards and Portuguese. Besides the shortness of the route by the North-East, if a passage should be found, there would be no danger of meeting a contending enemy, which in the commencement of an India trade it was desirable to avoid.

Permission to discover a way to *India* by *Nova Zembla* and along the coasts of *Tartary*, was readily obtained from the States-General, who took so great an interest in the enterprise, that they promised a gratuity of twenty-five thousand florins to the individuals who should undertake the voyage, if they succeeded, and also special privileges of trade during the space of eight years, to commence from the discovery.

The

1594. Voyage by W. Barentsz.

The first of these expeditions was undertaken by a ship of *Zealand*, a ship of *Enchuysen*, one of *Amsterdam*, and a fishing-bark; the two first under the command of Cornelis Cornelisz Nay, who had served as pilot with the Moscovites in the Northern seas. In the ship of *Enchuysen* Jan Huygens van Linschoten went as *commis*, or agent for the merchants. The ship of *Amsterdam* and the small bark were under Willem Barentsz, a seaman of great reputation.

June.

On the 5th of June 1594, the four vessels departed in company from the *Texel*, and the 23d of the same month, arrived at *Kilduyn*, an island and port near the entrance of the river *Kola* in *Lapland*. From this place W. Barentsz sailed with the Amsterdam ships and the small bark for the North of *Nova Zembla*. The other vessels directed their course for the *Waigatz Strait*. In the navigation between *Kilduyn* and the Northern part of *Nova Zembla*, 140 fathoms depth of water was found; and at one time of sounding, the depth was more than 150 fathoms, that length of line not reaching to the bottom.

July.

On the 29th of July, Barentsz was in latitude by observation 77° N. the most Northern point of *Nova Zembla*, then bearing due East. Large impenetrable bodies of ice prevented him from advancing beyond this *Cape*, and it was therefore named *Ys-hoek*, or *Ice Cape*.

Ys-hoek, the North Cape of Nova Zembla.

Corn. Nay at the Waigatz Strait.

The two vessels under Cornelisz Nay, sailed from *Kilduyn* to the *Waigatz*. In this passage they

CHAP. II. 1594.

they had soundings generally under 60 fathoms; they saw several of the vessels called Loddings, and killed a young whale which measured in length 33 feet.

The lodding is constructed of the interior bark of trees, and instead of nails or iron fastenings, the planks and other parts are sewn or bound together with cords. It has one mast and a square sail.

July.

July the 21st, they saw land before them, which was believed, and which proved, to be *Waigatz Island*. Linschoten describes it elevated, of good prospect, covered with verdure, but without trees. At three leagues distance they had soundings at 32 fathoms depth; and at a quarter of a league 10 fathoms. At noon, the latitude was observed 70° 20′ N. 'A quantity of floating wood, trunks, branches, and roots of trees, covered the surface of the sea here, and the water was black like the water of the canals in *Holland*.' This muddiness seems to indicate that the wood came from a river not far distant. They sailed SSE. along the coast with depth from 12 to 9 fathoms. There were rocks near the shore, but they shewed above water. Snow lay on the land only in a few places.

At the Waigatz. 21st.

As they sailed on, they saw wooden Crosses, supposed to have been set up by Russians. They sent a boat to the shore, and a man was seen, who ran away very swiftly, although 'hobbling

'hobbling from side to side as if he had 'been lame, as the Laplanders and Finlanders 'generally do.' The Hollanders pursued, but could not overtake him. Two rein-deer were seen, which also fled. There was much herbage on the land, flowers of every colour, some of them of fine odour; and lawns, the covering of which was more like moss than grass. Much wood lay heaped on the shores, whole trees, large enough to have served for masts and yards if there had been occasion. Some lay far above any high water mark, which was probably effected by ice being forced on the land by the sea, and other ice.

1594. July. Waigatz Strait.

The ships proceeded to the SE. and South, anchoring at times.

A correct description of the navigation in *Waigatz Strait* is not to be expected from the early accounts. Some things are doubtfully expressed, and could not be explained without danger of mistake; but many useful particulars of information may be collected with safety. The imperfection of our present knowledge of this *Strait* may be imagined, from the charts lately constructed differing something more than two degrees in the latitude of *Waigatz Island.*

The 22d they proceeded to the Southward, anchoring at times along the Western coast of *Waigatz Island.* At noon the latitude was observed 69° 45′ N. In the evening they had a fresh wind at East, and sailed by land which they could

22d.

CHAP. II.

1594. July. Waigatz Strait.

not clearly ascertain whether it was a point of *Waigatz Island*, or a cluster of small islands near to *Waigatz*. Here they saw more crosses, and continued their route three leagues farther, 'till the 'sun was at North,' when they were near an opening about a Dutch league broad, in the middle of which was an island, so that in fact it formed two openings. The Southern appeared larger than the Northern, and from the Southern opening the outer coast lay in a SSE. direction. This opening was supposed to be the Strait between *Waigatz* and the Continent, which accorded with the globes and charts. 'We had been told,' says Linschoten, 'that there was an island to the South of *Waigatz*, 'and six other isles farther to the East.' The island first mentioned in the opening was distant from them three Dutch leagues, and more distant land seen to the East appeared joined as a single land. As the wind was Easterly they con-

23d. tinued sailing to the SSE. At noon, on the 23d, the latitude was observed 69° 13′ N. The weather this day was warm, and they were troubled with gnats. Since the 17th of June, they had had the sun constantly above the horizon; but on this night, the 23d, the sun set at NNE. by the compass, and a short time afterwards re-appeared at NE. by N.; whence is to be inferred, that the variation of the compass was two points and a half North Westerly.

The land to the South was ascertained to be part of the Continent. It was low, and much drift-wood

drift-wood lay on the shores. They sailed back Northward to the *Strait*, and, the wind continuing Easterly, kept working to windward all the 24th. In the morning of the 25th, they sailed between two points of land moderately elevated, and covered with verdure, but without trees. The Southern or continental coast was sandy, and the sea near it rocky. The Northern land (*Waigatz Island*) was rather higher than the Southern, and level at the top. Crosses were seen in many places, but no appearance of habitations. These coasts were full of sinuosities forming small bays, especially the Northern coast, nearest to which the ships kept.

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1594. July. Waigatz Strait. 24th. 25th.

The wind being contrary, they anchored several times in the *Strait*. At one time, they rode out a gale of wind in the middle of the *Strait*, a rapid current at the same time running through the *Strait* from the East, which brought with it large clumps of ice, and kept them in much alarm. This current was affected by the tides; or more properly was partly tide, for it is afterwards remarked, that with the rising tide the current came from the East, and that the ebbing of the tide was scarcely perceptible. The direction of the *Strait* was here North Eastward.

In passing through the *Strait*, the depth under them was at one time not more than four fathoms, but they were then within a stone's cast of the shore. The 26th, latitude was observed 69° 43′ N. On a point of land of the

26th.

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1594. July. Waigatz Strait.

Waitgatz they found a number of wooden images rudely carved to resemble men, women, and children, not fewer than three or four hundred, loosely heaped one upon another. Linschoten naturally conjectures that when a Samoyede dies, his friends consecrate an image to his memory. Some of these were worm-eaten and quite decayed; others new and recently carved. Some had several visages on the same trunk, as if to represent many persons of the same family. 'No graves, or bones, or other mark of cemetery 'or repository of the dead, were found here, 'and perhaps the Samoyedes bring their images 'here at certain seasons of the year.' This cape was named the *Cape of Idols.* Another cape of *Waigatz*, more advanced in the *Strait*, was named *Kruyz Hoek*, which signifies *Cape of the Cross.*

29th. On the 29th, an ice island half a league in length drifted through the *Strait.* It was narrow and came lengthway; 'if it had lain athwart 'it would have entirely closed the passage.' One of the ships was at anchor within a projecting point of land, and thither the other went for shelter. The water of the sea here was remarked to be clear, of a deep blue like the water of the ocean, and very salt.

Smokes had been seen rising from different places on the coast, and at small distances within, and men had been seen at a distance. On the 29th, and afterwards, the Hollanders had friendly

friendly communication with some Samoyedes. By means of a Russian sailor belonging to one of the ships, 'who had much trouble to understand them,' information was obtained that Eastward of *Nova Zembla* was a sea of no great extent, which being passed, there was another extending far. These Samoyedes being questioned, if they were subject to the great Czar of *Moscovy*, replied, that they knew nothing of him. They spoke, however, of *Petzora* and *Pitzano*, places which belonged to the Russians, as known to them.

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1594. July. Waigatz Strait. Samoyedes.

Among a wandering unsettled people like the Samoyedes, it would naturally happen that some might be made to acknowledge themselves subject to the Russians, and others remain long in perfect ignorance of any such claim to their obedience. Descriptions of the Russian empire say, that the Samoyedes, or Ostiaks, inhabiting near the *River Ob*, were compelled to swear fidelity and allegiance to the Russian empire in the following manner:—a mouthful of bread was presented to each man on the point of a knife, and the man receiving it kneeling, was required to say, or repeat, "If in the course "of my life I become unfaithful to my Czar, if "at any time I do not pay my tribute, may a "bear devour me, and may this morsel of bread "that I am about to eat choke me."

Linschoten says, the Samoyedes seen by him were a very diminutive people, 'who might be

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1594. July. Waigatz Strait.

'denominated *half men.* Some among them re-'sembled apes or monsters! Nevertheless,' he says, 'they are light and alert, jump well, run 'like stags with admirable circumspection, 'casting their eyes from side to side; none of 'our people could keep pace with them in the 'race. They have sledges and rein-deer, and use 'bows and arrows, and I think they would make 'good warriors, if they could be disciplined.' He says farther, 'they are not used to fishing, 'and live wholly by the chase. We saw no sign 'of their having boats or water conveyance of 'any kind, and we observed neither house nor 'cabin on the shore.' Linschoten seems here to have drawn a conclusion from appearances which might more reasonably be otherwise accounted for. It is difficult to imagine, that any tribe of Samoyedes residing occasionally, if not generally, near the sea coast, should not use boats and fishing, although nothing of the kind was perceived among those seen by the Hollanders; which very possibly was owing to their having travelled over land from some place where they had fixed their quarters, purposely to visit the Hollanders. It is remarked in Linschoten, that there were no settled inhabitants at *Waigatz Island*, and that the Samoyedes resorted to it only at times proper for the chase, which in this cold country would scarcely be done (as with the New Hollanders) without boats. At taking leave of the Hollanders, they took off their hats and bowed,

bowed, so taught doubtlessly by the Russians, and also clapped their hands. The Hollanders, in return, bad them adieu with the sound of trumpets.

1594. July. Waigatz Strait.

From *Kruyz Hoek* the coast of *Waigatz Island* lies NNE. (by the chart to Linschoten, true,) 3 Dutch leagues to a Cape, which on account of some dispute was named *Twist Hoek*, and is the outer Eastern *Cape* on the *Waigatz* side of the *Strait* between that Island and the Continent. The opposite outer point was on a small island a cannon shot distant from the Continent, and was named *Ton Hoek*. The distance between these two points, or breadth of this entrance of the *Strait*, is little more than a Dutch mile or league (15 to the degree.) The ships anchored about a quarter of a league from *Ton Hoek*, in 7 fathoms good holding ground.

Dangers from banks and rocks in the Strait.

From abreast *Kruyz Hoek*, extending North-eastward to nearly abreast *Twist Hoek*, lies a bank of sand, or a range of sand-banks and rocks, some level with the surface of the water and some covered, nearly midway between the Continent and *Waigatz Island*. They found good anchoring ground through the *Strait*, but subject to disturbance in the fair channel from drifting ice, more or less dangerous according to its size and the velocity of the tide.

August.

On the 1st of August, they compleated the passage of the *Strait* by the South of *Waigatz Island*. 'This day,' says Linschoten, 'we entered the *Sea of Tartary*.'

Sea of Kara.

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1594. August. In the Sea of Kara.

From the *Strait* they sailed at first along the coast of the Continent, the wind being from the SW; and at the distance of a quarter of a league from land had depth from 7 to 10 fathoms. In the evening the wind changed to Easterly, and caused them to stand off shore, which in a league and a half sailing brought them into 80 fathoms depth. The sea was also of an azure blue; and these two circumstances were regarded as indications of a large and open sea.

2d. The next day, however, they fell in with much ice, but the wind changed again to the SW, and they were able to follow the continental coast, which Linschoten's chart lays down in a direction ESE. true, from the East entrance of the *Strait*. At the same time it is related, that on the 2d of August the ships had sailed by the reckoning 17 or 18 leagues along the coast from the *Strait*, and that the latitude was observed 70°, which was more North than expected; for the course had been held SE. and SE by E. 'We ought to 'attribute these errors,' Linschoten says, 'to 'the variation of the compass.' It is however to be remarked, that observations at sea for the latitude, were not at that time to be safely relied on within a third of a degree.

At the distance of something more than twenty leagues from the *Waigatz*, the coast was found to decline more Southward, forming a gulf, of which they did not see the bottom; but they saw the land on the farther side, where the coast lay in a NE. and SW. direction, and they doubted

doubted not its being a continuation of the Continent. They sailed along this coast to the NE, not much obstructed by ice, but not favoured by the winds. The sea was deep, their soundings at one time being 132 fathoms, and at another time their lines did not reach the bottom.

1594. August. In the Sea of Kara.

On the 11th of August, the farthest land they had in sight to the NE. was estimated to be fifty Dutch leagues from the *Waigatz*. 'The 'coast was sandy and clear, and as straight and 'level as if it had been formed by line and rule.' Linschoten relates, 'On the distant shore were 'seen numerous small hills, which had at one 'time an appearance like trees, at another time 'like animals. This effect was produced by the 'disposition of vapours in the air. At one time 'we thought we saw three men walking on the 'strand, but on coming nearer, they were found 'to be hillocks; yet some on board persisted in 'asserting them to be living beings.' Other similar illusions are noticed in this voyage *.

11th.

The shore was sandy, but of good elevation, and in parts covered with bulrushes. Soundings were found at a moderate depth near the land. The sea was rough from the Northward, 'and the 'coast extended to the North-east, which made 'us no longer doubt,' says Linschoten, 'of 'there

* In Commodore Byron's voyage, preparation was made for anchoring in a port which the Commodore and his people thought they had discovered; but which proved to be a fog bank.

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1594. August. In the sea of Kara.

'there being a free passage. The ice had nearly 'disappeared, and seemed to be already melted; 'but the North-east and North winds which 'blew, being contrary to our route, and the 'season for this navigation being already passed 'away, it was unanimously resolved to sail back 'to our own country. Accordingly, in the 'beginning of the night (of the 11th) we made 'sail to the W. by N. with the wind at NNE, 'and fair weather; but the sun had not ap-'peared for us to observe our latitude.'

With so many favourable circumstances, this was certainly closing the campaign too early. The greatest evil they had met with in this sea was the fogginess of the atmosphere, which frequently would not permit them to see a ship's length before them, and rendered the navigation perilous. They continued their course W. by N. till noon on the 12th, when the latitude was observed 71° 10′ N.

12th.

They repass the Strait.

They repassed the *Strait* on the 14th, and on the 15th were joined by Barentsz, returning from the North of *Nova Zembla*. Girard le Ver*, who has written an account of the Northern voyage, and describes this meeting, relates, that 'afterwards discoursing together concern-'ing the places they had seen in their voyage, 'and what each had discovered, he of *Enchuysen* 'said, that when he was past the *Waigatz* he 'found

* Of the three voyages made by W. Barentsz to the North-east, Girard le Ver sailed with him in the second and third; but wrote a history of all the three.

'found the sea open, and had sailed good 50 or '60 leagues to the East, so that he was per- 1594. 'suaded he was about as far as where the river '*Ob*, which descends from *Tartary*, falls into 'the sea, and that the land of *Tartary* there 'extends again to the North-east. And he con- 'jectured that he was not far from *Cape Tabin*, 'which is the exterior angle of *Tartary*, whence 'the coast declines towards the kingdom of '*Cathay*, extending first towards the South-east 'and then towards the South. That having thus 'much discovered, as it was late in the year, 'and their commission ordered them to return 'before the winter, they sailed back through the '*Waigatz* *.' Both outward and homeward, the ships under Nay went through the passage South of *Waigatz Island*, to which the Hollanders gave the name of *Nassau Strait*.

It is exceedingly curious, that encouragement should alike have been found for a North-west and for a North-east passage to *India*, and on authority equally questionable. Whilst a fabulous *Strait of Anian* was provided for the North-west passage, the *mountain Tabin*, on the uncertain reports transmitted from the ancient Greeks, was assumed as the *Northern promontory of Asia*, beyond which the land was to decline Southward to the *Indian Seas*. It is so represented in the maps of the best geographers

* *Premiere Partie de la Navigation par le Nord.* Amsterdam, 1598, p. 7.

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graphers of the latter part of the 16th, and of the 17th century.

1594. The 26th of September, the four vessels returned to Amsterdam.

It appeared in this expedition, that it was less difficult to pass through the *Waigatz* than to go by the North of *Nova Zembla*; that the voyagers had not failed of making the proposed discovery from obstruction by ice or land; and that if they had arrived more early in the sea East of *Nova Zembla*, there would have been a good probability of their making the passage. Under this persuasion, in

1595. 1595, the Hollanders fitted out seven vessels for the northern navigation, provided both for trade, and for prosecuting of the discovery of a passage by the North-east to *India*. The States General and Prince of Orange took part in the adventure, contributing towards defraying the expence. Jacob Van Heemskerk, J. H. Van Linschoten, and Jan. Cornelisz Rijp, went as *commis*, or merchants and directors, in the ships to be employed on the discovery, and William Barentz as Captain and principal pilot. It was directed, that as soon as the vessels should have passed *Cape Tabin*, one of them should be dispatched back to *Holland* with the news of that event.

Second Voyage of Willem Barentz.

Notwithstanding that the want of success in the former expedition was attributed principally to the lateness of their outset, the present expedition

pedition did not depart from the *Texel* till the 2d of July. After passing the *North Cape*, the ships divided, some going to the *White Sea*. Those for the discovery proceeded to the *Waigatz*, and arrived at the entrance of the *Strait* on August the 19th. The 24th, in the *Strait*, they met a sem or small lodding, belonging to a port in the *White Sea*, named *Pennago*, which had been to the North in search of the teeth of the walrus, whale-oil, skins, and birds, which commodities they sold to Russian merchants. They had been shut up by ice in *Nova Zembla* all the summer, in consequence of the late winter having been long and severe; and, according to their information, the *Strait North of Waigatz Island*, between that and *Nova Zembla*, was yet full of ice. They said vessels of their country went every year through the *Waigatz*, and Eastward beyond the River *Ob*, to a place called *Ugolita*, where they carried clothes and other merchandize, and were sometimes obliged to winter. That they always endeavoured to pass the winter near forests, and sometimes were necessitated to go many miles inland to find them. They thought it would be yet nine or ten weeks before the passage of the *Waigatz* would be entirely closed by the ice; but that immediately after the first appearance of the sea freezing, it generally became all at once frozen over, so that people could go

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1595. July.

August. Waigatz Strait.

on

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on the ice, over the sea, to *Tartary**. They said, that beyond the *Ob* was a large river, named the *Gillisse* or *Jenisei*, towards which the Russians went in their loddies to traffic.

On the 30th, the Hollanders were yet in the *Waigatz Strait*, having been much incommoded by ice. This day one of their boats landed on the South side of the *Strait*, 'the Continent,' and met there twenty or twenty-five Samoyedes, who shewed themselves friendly. The Hollanders gave them victuals, which they received thankfully. At a distance were seen 100 or 150 more Samoyedes. The Hollanders landed again the next day. One among the Samoyedes appeared to be their chief. In answer to inquiries concerning the seas and countries Eastward, they said, 'that the sea East of the *Waigatz* 'was five days sailing in extent; that then was 'found another strait, and after passing that strait, 'was a great sea.' They said also, 'that beyond 'the *Jenisei* was another river named *Moleconsay*, 'and just so far extended the domination of the 'Grand Duke. That the country beyond, to 'a great extent, was under the dominion of a 'Tartar Prince.'

Two men killed by a bear.

Whilst the ships were in the *Strait of Waigatz*, two of the seamen who were on shore, went along the sea-beach to look for shining or curious

* *Seconde Partie de Navig. par le Nord.* p. 10. And *Rec. des Voy. de la Comp.* Vol. 1. p. 75.

rious stones, when a bear approached them softly, and, before he was perceived, seized on one of them, who endeavoured, whilst the bear was beginning to devour him, to defend himself with his knife, but was quickly killed. Above twenty seamen were on shore at the time, and they hastened towards the bear armed with pikes and harquebuses. The bear, on their approach, quitted his prey, and running towards them, seized another man, whom he tore in pieces. The rest fled at first; but some of them returned, and killed the bear. CHAP. II. 1595.

On the 3d of September they cleared the *Strait*, and the sea appeared open and free of ice to the East. They sounded and found the depth more than 110 fathoms. They saw great whales, and the sea was of a fine clear blue; all which were esteemed fortunate indications; but in the evening, it blew a storm from the NW, and a large bank of ice was seen drifting fast towards them. On the 5th, they were obliged to take shelter in a bay of the Continent, among rocks, to avoid being pressed on by the ice. They continued in unsuccessful endeavour to advance East North-eastward till the middle of the month, the weather increasing in sharpness and the nights in length. On the 15th, the commanders and principal persons of the fleet held council on board the ship of the Admiral, Cornelis Cornelisz Nay, at which they say; 'We, the undersigned, declare that we have September.

'done

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1595.

'done our best before God and before the world, 'to penetrate by the North to *China* and *Japan*, 'as ordered by our instructions, until we have 'seen that it does not please God that we 'should continue our voyage, and that it is 'necessary we should desist. We therefore have 'resolved to make our route back to *Holland* 'with all diligence.'

Signed by the Admiral, and others of the Council.

After the failure of this second expedition, the States General declined contributing to the further prosecution of the discovery; but they published a declaration, that if any city, company of merchants, or individuals, chose to be at the charge of another voyage, in search of a North-east passage to *India*, there should be no hindrance; and that if proof should be produced of the discovery of such a passage, they would bestow a pecuniary recompense on the discoverers.

1596. Third expedition of the Hollanders to discover a North-east Passage.

The Council or municipal officers of the city of *Amsterdam* were not discouraged by the past failures, but fitted out two ships for another attempt. The agreement made with the seamen was, that they should have pay on a certain footing if they returned without succeeding, and on a superior if they were successful. In one ship, Jacob Heemskerk went as merchant or supercargo, and W. Barentsz as chief pilot; in the

the other, Jan Cornelisz Rijp was merchant and commander.

They set sail on the 18th of May, 1596. The 22d they had sight of *Shetland*. Barentsz and Rijp differed here in opinion respecting the course they should pursue. Barentsz proposed to steer for the North end of *Nova Zembla*. Rijp was for steering a more northerly course, to get far to the North of all the land that was known, in hopes of finding there a clear sea which would admit of their sailing Eastward. Rijp would not yield, and Barentsz, rather than part company, followed him. On the 9th of June, in 74° 30′ latitude, they discovered land, which proved to be an island about five leagues in extent. Here they anchored; and on account of a combat they had with a large white bear, named it *Beeren-eilandt*.

1596. May.

Third voyage of W. Barentsz.

June. Discovery of Beeren Island.

From *Beeren-eilandt* they sailed on Northward, and the 19th they discovered another and larger land. Their latitude observed that day was 80° 11′. They sailed along the coast of this land South-westward in search of anchorage, to latitude 79° 30′, and found good harbour, where they anchored in 18 fathoms.

Discovery of Spitzbergen.

'This land, the most Northern which to this 'time has been discovered in the world, has 'nevertheless verdure and herbage. The animals 'seen here are white bears, some larger than 'oxen; rein deer, who feed on moss, and be-'come so fat, that their flesh is excellent eating;

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1596. Third voyage of W. Barentz.

'here are also foxes, white, grey, and some 'black. It was the difference between Willem 'Barentsz and Cornelisz Rijp that gave rise to 'the discovery of this land. It is named by the 'Hollanders *Spilberg* or *Spitzbergen*,' * which signifies spindle or sharp-pointed mountains.

The 21st they killed a white bear, whose skin, the journal says, measured thirteen feet. He had swam to the ships, and being intercepted in endeavouring to retreat to the shore, was pursued a league out to sea, and made great resistance before he was overcome. At one time he laid his paw upon the boat, fortunately for those in her, on the fore part; if it had been in the middle, he would, most probably, have overturned her.

July. On the 23d they weighed anchor, and would have proceeded Northward, but fell in with ice, which obstructed their progress; and on the 1st of July they were again in sight of *Beeren Island*. Here they finally differed about the course. Rijp would return to the North, and Barentz would sail immediately East, and neither prevailing with the other, they separated by agreement. They were each eminently anxious for the discovery; and it may be said, that by separating they gave a better chance for making it than by remaining together, and at the expence of increasing their own peril.

On the 17th of July, Barentz made the land of

* *Rec. des Voyages de la Comp.* Vol. 1. p. 93. & *seq.*

1596. August. At Nova Zembla.

of *Nova Zembla*; but on the 16th of August, his vessel was no farther advanced than to the North-eastern extremity. The coast from hence took a direction first to the SSE. and afterwards to the South, and the sea appeared open to the South-east, which made many on board flatter themselves that the success of their voyage was certain; but this delusive appearance was of short continuance. In the course of the next ten days, they were so much incommoded and entangled with floating ice, that they thought it necessary to look to their retreat. In the evening of the 26th, they were forced into a bay of the North-eastern, or of the most eastern part of *Nova Zembla*, for they had passed round the North end of the Island; and the next day the ice closed upon them with so much violence, that the vessel was lifted or forced upon it as if aground from one end to the other. In this danger, they set to work to make the best preparation they could with their boats, in case of being obliged to quit the ship. On the 28th, the ice separated a little, and the ship nearly recovered her proper position, when the ice again closed upon her, and the frame of the ship, and the ice all around, cracked in so frightful a manner as to fill them with apprehension that she would break in pieces. 'The ice was in 'greater heaps, and more pressed under the 'vessel on the side whence the current came 'than on the other, and she had at first leaned

 'much;

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1596. Nova Zembla.

'much; but at length, by a continuance of fresh 'pressure of the ice, she was set upright, and 'mounted on a bank of ice, as if purposely done 'with screws and other machines.' On the 31st, the ice came in greater quantities, large bodies being forced by currents one over the other. The stem of the vessel was lifted five feet higher than the stern, and the rudder was broken.

September. On the 5th of September, 'after supper,' the pressure of more ice threw the vessel entirely on one side, and she opened in different places. No prospect remained but of wintering on the spot, and they immediately turned their attention to building a house or hut, which should protect them from the cold, and from wild beasts, or rather from the bears, which were the only animals from whom they expected attack. On the sea-shore, but at a considerable distance from where the ship lay, was found a quantity of wood, some of it whole trees with their roots, which it was supposed had floated there from the continent, as no appearance of wood growing had been seen in the northern part of *Nova Zembla.* They constructed sleds for removing the timber, and on the 16th made a beginning, by transporting four large logs above a league over the ice or snow, to the place chosen near the vessel for erecting their hut. On the 23d, the carpenter died. Their number remaining was sixteen.

The ground was frozen so hard that they could not

not make a ditch, but they nevertheless began to erect their building, the sides of which they constructed of timbers squared so as to lay smooth and close one upon another; and they made large fires to soften the earth, by which means they enclosed their building round about with it like a rampart, which must have been a great defence against the severity of the weather. Whilst thus employed, on the 20th of September, the wind came from the West, which drove the loose ice that was afloat out from the land, and left the sea open near the coast; but if the ship had been in good condition, no advantage could have been taken of this, for the ice on which she rested was a close-packed body, of depth that reached to the bottom and took the ground, so that she lay as upon a fixed and solid rock. They therefore diligently continued their work, with the frost at times so severe, that if a man inadvertently put a nail in his mouth, as is frequently done by workmen, it took off the skin, and the blood would follow; and one man lost a great toe by the frost; but by the 2d of October the hut was completed. The latitude was at different times observed to be 76° North.

1596. September.

October.

They were annoyed at first by the visits of bears; but these animals, after short experience, became so cautious, that they would be frightened away by shoutings or by the sound of trumpets. When they came to attack, if at any time, for want of other ammunition, a clump of

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wood or other thing was thrown at them, they would, like dogs, run to seize on what was so thrown.

1596.

November. Nova Zembla.

On the 4th of November they wholly lost sight of the sun, and in this month the bears disappeared. In their stead, foxes came, some of which were caught in traps.

The winter passed with less of suffering than could have been expected. Once they were in danger of being suffocated by sleeping with a charcoal fire in their hut. Towards the end of January, the foxes disappeared, which was conjectured to be an indication that the bears would shortly return, and so it happened.

1597. January.

On the 24th of January, as Jacob Heemskirk, Girard le Ver, and another person, were walking from their hut to the sea-side, the weather being clear, they were surprised with a sight of the northern limb or edge of the sun. This, the journal says, was fifteen days earlier than, according to calculation, any part of the sun could have been visible to them; and Barentsz would not be persuaded that they had not been deceived, which caused wagers to be laid. The 25th and 26th, there was too thick a fog to determine the dispute; but the 27th was a clear day, and the entire orb of the sun was seen above the horizon, whence there could remain no doubt that a part had been visible on the 24th. The journalist has been at pains to shew, that they had not erred in their reckoning of time,

as

as might be conjectured from their having been so long without seeing the sun. Nothing is said of refraction, and probably it was not thought of, or was ill understood, and seldom allowed for in maritime observations at that early period.

From the 4th of November, when they wholly lost sight of the sun, to its re-appearance, January the 24th, was 81 days. The middle time may be supposed the winter solstice, and the declination of the sun corresponding to 40½ days from the time of the solstice, is 17° 24′ S. The latitude being 76° N. will give 93° 24′ for the distance of the sun (its centre) from the zenith, when its northern limb was first seen. Allowing 16′ for the sun's semi-diameter will leave above three degrees for the refraction and depression of the horizon, the latter of which was probably under a quarter of a degree. The effect of the refraction then must have been not much less than three degrees.

In some other northern voyage it has been remarked, that the sun was seen twenty minutes sooner, and as much later, than the regular time of sun-rising and setting. Mr. Bayly, who sailed as astronomer in the last voyage of Captain Cook, related to me, that when he was assistant astronomer to Dr. Maskelyne, cattle which fed in a meadow on the opposite side of the *Thames* were visible from Flamstead House at high water, and hid by the bank at low water. The effect of refraction in giving apparent altitude

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1597. Nova Zembla.

to distant objects which are in reality below the horizontal level, appears in all these cases to have been many degrees.

As the water rose in the river, the objects on the farther side would be seen through a more dense medium, and the effect produced seems to have been, giving apparently to the whole plain or surface beyond the river, an inclination or increase of inclination towards the beholder; the distant parts being the most refracted, as must be the case in the plain of a glacis so rendered visible, which is to be ascribed to the more distant object being seen through a longer extent of atmosphere. From similar causes it may be imagined that the apparent horizon at sea will sometimes be a water-line more distant, and of course more elevated, than a true horizontal line.

Whether the real cattle were seen, or the increased density of the medium rendered it capable of receiving, as in a mirror, and reflecting, the image of the cattle, is a very disputable question. The mind is not well satisfied with the hypothesis of inflected or bent rays and circuitous vision; a difficulty likewise not easy to surmount, is to explain how a thing may be seen where it is not. The image of an object which is not within an unobstructed right line of vision is frequently received by a long train of reflections, every stage of which is distinguishable, or clearly traceable, from the substance to the eye of the beholder. Appearances of distant objects

objects in the horizon are seen through a great length of the most dense part of the atmosphere, which may be capable of communicating the image of an object by the transmission of a series of refractions, all rectilinear, although otherwise susceptible of great varieties, as sometimes an inversion of the original objects, exhibiting them floating in the air, with other phenomena, not less strange; which transmissions being imperceptible, may aggregately give the appearance of flexible rays.

Whether the apparent horizon at sea is a refracted line more elevated than the true horizon, is a question worth determining, as if that is the case, all altitudes taken at sea must require a like correction on that account, independent of the correction which may be necessary for the refraction in altitude of the object observed. It seems probable also, that the refraction of the horizon may be liable to variation with the state of the atmosphere.

When the height of the observer above the level of the sea is known, the depression of the real terrestrial horizon is correctly ascertained on trigonometrical principles; accordingly, by observing the vertical arc contained between two opposite points of the apparent horizon, the refraction of the horizon can be determined, the difference of the observed vertical arc from the half circle being the combined effect of dip and refraction.

So

CHAP. II. 1597. Nova Zembla.

So much snow fell during the winter, that the Hollanders had almost every day to clear the entrance of their hut.

February.

On the 13th of February, a great bear came close to their hut, which they shot, and obtained from the carcass above a hundred weight of fat

March.

or lard. On the 8th of March, the sea to the North was observed to be quite clear of ice, which made them conjecture there was a great extent of open sea in that direction. The next day the sea appeared equally open and clear to the North and North-east; but more eastward, and to the SE. there was ice; and to the South and SE. they saw an appearance like land, but could not ascertain whether it was land or clouds.

April.

In the night of April the 6th, during a thick fog, a bear came to the hut and endeavoured to force in the door. The Hollanders tried to shoot him, but, from the dampness of the weather, it was with much difficulty they could get one of their arquebuses to go off, which made the bear retire; but he returned in about two hours after, and mounting the roof of the hut, shook the chimney with all his might, endeavouring to pull it down, making at the same time a terrible roaring or noise. After much ineffectual trial, he went quietly away.

May.

Towards the end of May, they began to prepare their two boats, both open, with washboards, sails, &c. for their departure, as the only means

means for their escape from this desolate country. It was proposed to repass round the North end of *Nova Zembla*, in preference to seeking a passage southward on the East side, and that way through the *Waigatz Strait*. On the morning of June the 14th, they embarked in the two boats, with the remains of their provisions and some small packets of their best merchandize, and quitted the place where they had passed a winter of more than eight months continuance.

1597. May. June. From Nova Zembla.

Barentsz had been some time ill. One of the seamen, Nicolas Andrisz, was likewise ill. That they might be the more commodiously attended, they were embarked one in each boat; but all the care and nursing that could be bestowed on them, exposed to the open air in a small boat, was not capable of saving them from falling victims to the severity of the weather. On the 16th, the boats were at the Isle *Van Orange*, which lies near the northern extremity of *Nova Zembla*. The next day they were beset by ice, and remained the three following days without being able to proceed. On the forenoon of the 20th, word was brought to Barentsz that Andrisz appeared to be drawing to his end. Barentsz said in reply, that he believed his own was not far distant. The people in the boat with him, seeing that he was at this very time inspecting and considering a chart which Girard le Ver had made of the places they had seen in

CHAP. II.

1597. July.

Death of William Barentsz.

in the voyage, did not apprehend immediate danger, but continued sitting and conversing, till Barentsz put down the chart and asked for some drink, to which he was helped, and immediately after expired, to the great affliction of his remaining companions, he being esteemed one of the most capable seamen of his time.

They proceeded westward and southward along the western coast of *Nova Zembla*, as well as the ice and weather would permit them. On the 28th of July, they had the good fortune to meet two Russian loddies, and to obtain from them a supply of provisions. They also learnt that three Dutch ships were lying at *Kola*; and after a fatiguing navigation, having been obstructed by ice from entering the *White Sea*, on the 25th of August they arrived at *Kilduyn*. Here, not less to their surprize than satisfaction, in a short time came to them with provisions and refreshments, Jan Cornelisz Rijp, who commanded one of the Dutch ships then lying at *Kola*, and who the year before had sailed from *Holland* in company with Jacob Heemskerk and W. Barentsz, from whom (as related) he had separated to seek by a more northerly route, a passage to *India*. He had not succeeded in that attempt, and had returned to *Holland*; and was now again homeward bound from a trading voyage to the *White Sea*.

Jacob

Jacob Heemskerk and his remaining companions embarked with Rijp, and they arrived at *Amsterdam* on the 1st of November. November.

Of the seventeen men cast on *Nova Zembla*, the carpenter and another man died there; Willem Barentsz and two other men died whilst navigating in the small boats along the coast of *Nova Zembla*; and twelve lived to return to their native country. What doubtless much contributed to their preservation, was their sea provision being well cured, which is particularly noticed by the journalist, who remarks that it was as good at the time of its being used as when first put up.

1607-8-9. Henry Hudson.

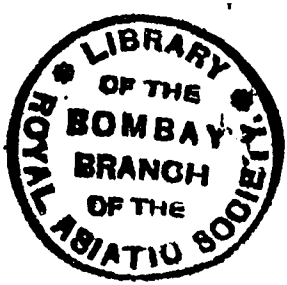
In 1607, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, and at the charge of English merchants, made a voyage direct to the North, to seek a passage that way to *India*. He reached nearly to the latitude of 82 N, when he was stopped from proceeding further by ice. In 1608, he made an attempt, as Jan Cornelisz Rijp had done before, to sail to the North, keeping midway between *Spitzbergen* and *Nova Zembla*, but with no better success. In 1609, the directors of the Dutch East India Company engaged Hudson in their service, to make another attempt 'to find a passage to *China* by the North-east or by the North-west,' and fitted out a ship which was manned with a crew of twenty men, one half of them English, one half

CHAP. II.

half Dutch. They sailed from the *Texel* on April the 6th. On May the 5th they passed the *North Cape*, and sailed on to the North part of *Nova Zembla*, where the sea was found so full of ice as to afford no prospect of a passage eastward. On the 14th of May, Hudson sailed from *Nova Zembla* for the American coast.

In fact, the voyages of W. Barentsz may be said to have closed the hopes of discovering a passage to *India* by the North-east. The attempt of Hudson in 1609, was made with a predetermination, if difficulties such as were expected should be found, not to persevere at the expence of being prevented during the same season from making a trial to the North-west.

Since the voyage of Hudson, only one other attempt from the *Atlantic* worthy notice occurs, for the discovery of a passage by the North-east to *India*; an account of which will be given in the sequel.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Spitsbergen
Longitude from the Meridian of Greenwich
Beeren Island
NOVA ZEMBLA
Cape Falmut
SEA OF KARA
Waigatz I
Naugan Strait
North Cape
Sword Nye
Wardhous
Hammerfest
Senjen
Kegor
Kildeyen
Kola
Olmt
LAPLAND
Kolguey
Kande Nos
Warzina
SAMOJAD
THE WHITE SEA
Mezen
Archangel
St Nicolai
Dwina R.

CHAP. III.

Of the general extension of the Russian Empire. The River Amur. Commencement of intercourse between the Russians and the Chinese.

AMERICA, from its first discovery by Europeans, was supposed by them to be a land distinct from their own native continent, whence arose the appellation given to it of the New World. The failure of many attempts to discover a Northern passage to *India*, at length suggested the possibility that the Old and New World formed but one continent. The solution of this problem, as far as regards a North-eastern navigation to *India*, has been more naturally the business of the Russians than of any other people, as well for the superior benefit which would accrue to them from a practicable navigation round their coasts, from the European to the Tartarean and Indian sea, should such be found, as on account of the greater facilities possessed by them for prosecuting the discovery, by the northern inhabitants of *Siberia* especially, in their advanced situation, and in being natives inured to that rude climate.

The

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Extension of the Russian Empire.

The Czars of *Moscovy* assumed the title of Lords of *Siberia* as early as the year 1558, not then meaning by *Siberia*, as since, all the northern parts of *Asia* known and unknown to them*.

In the second voyage of W. Barentsz, it is seen that the country eastward of the *River Jenesei* was not then under the dominion of the Czars of *Moscovy*; and in Tooke's History of *Russia*, the year 1620 is marked as the time when the people inhabiting the country in the neighbourhood of the *Jenesei*, submitted or were subjected to the Russians.

The maps of that date did not pretend to show any thing with certainty beyond that river, and *Siberia* appeared eastward without boundary, lost in unknown desarts. Since that time, the Russians have been constantly extending their dominion eastward, and such was the wild uncultivated state, and thinness of the population, of the vast regions of the North-eastern parts of *Asia*, that the extension of their empire nearly kept pace with their discoveries.

The wars and conquests of the Russians over the nations of *Siberia* and *Tartary*, were not, unless in some instances it might so happen by accident, enterprizes undertaken on any principle of obtaining redress for injury or of avenging aggression. They made no pretence by way of justifying their invasions. The ancient maxim that

* '*La Siberie*, ou ce qui revient au meme, *l'Asie Septentrionale*.' *Malte Brun. Precis de la Geog. Univ.*

that dominion is inherent in the strong, and that submission belongs to the weak, the Russians acted on without disguise. To usurpation and robbery was added the wickedness of using their successes with little sense of lenity. The Russians in the East, elated with superior power, pursued their purposes with rapaciousness and a disposition to tyrannise. War and conquest was not a privilege exercised exclusively by the Prince. Hunters, and adventurers who made excursions for profit by the chace, by traffic, or by whatever accident might throw in their way, whether they went with or without authority from, or the knowledge of, their government, when they came among a strange people and found their strength adequate to making the demand, failed not to require of them to acknowledge themselves subjects of the Russian Empire, and to pay tribute; as well with their labour as with their effects.

Most of the early voyages of the Russians in the *Icy Sea*, were the voluntary undertakings of individuals whose principal occupation was the chace. Those who went provided also for traffic, were denominated Promyschleni. When they made any profitable discovery, the Governors in *Siberia* were not slow in seeking to share and to improve the advantage, whence it became proverbial in *Siberia*, that where the Promyschleni met with good fortune, they proved to be the

Promyschleni.

CHAP. III.

avant couriers of the Kossaks. To this alacrity of the Siberian Governors may be attributed that memorials of the early expeditions were preserved, or perhaps that any were made; and it is no cause for wonder if some of those which have reached us are difficult to comprehend, or in some parts not intelligible.

Kossak.

The word Kossak is said to signify in the language of the Tartars, a light armed soldier. It was assumed first as a general distinctive name by people who inhabited near the mouth of the River *Dniepr*, which falls into the *Black Sea*, and afterwards by other Tartars in the southern parts of the Russian Empire. The military force of the Russian Empire is composed of regular troops, and troops called irregular. The Kossaks are of the latter description, and in the accounts published of the Russian discoveries, it seems that the military employed in the eastern provinces of the Empire, have been principally, if not wholly, Kossaks.

1636.

Progress of the Russians.

In the North of Asia.

In 1636, the Russians first formed establishments on the banks of the River *Lena*, and thence began to navigate eastward along the shores of the *Icy Sea*.

Towards China.

At the same time that they were making advances in the frozen regions of the North, others of their nation were penetrating in like manner on the side of *Tartary*. Professor Gerhard Frederick Muller has given with his history

history of the discoveries made by the Russians, an account of their enterprizes along the river *Amur*, of which, and of their first intercourse with the Chinese, a brief sketch will be here given, previously to entering upon their maritime discoveries.

The Russians, for the first time, heard of a large river, named the *Amur*, about the year 1639; and a Russian or Kossak, named Kupilow, is said in that year to have obtained sight of the eastern sea coast. 1639.

The River Amur.

The *Amur* is one of the most considerable rivers of *Asia*. It rises in the heart of *Tartary*; it may be said to have many sources, for it is at the confluence of several streams that it first receives the name *Amur*, which is of Tartar origin. It thence flows eastward, and is joined in its course by other streams, till it discharges itself into the sea in about 53° North latitude, opposite to the island *Sagalin*, and above 30° of longitude eastward of its origin.

1643.

In 1643, an expedition was undertaken by the Russians to the river *Amur*, for the purpose of making tributary the Tartar nations who inhabited along its banks. The commander in this invasion was named Wasilei Pojarkow. He departed from *Jakutzk*, (a town built on the banks of the *Lena* and the newly established capital of a province of the same name,) in the month of July, with no larger a force than one

CHAP. III.

hundred and thirty-two men. The Tartars, 'a people,' Baron Strahlenberg says, 'who having 'no connection with polished nations, lived in 'an extreme simplicity,' on the first coming of these strangers, thought it prudent to receive them as friends, and as such treated them until tribute was demanded; but on that demand being made, they ceased to supply the Russians with provisions, in consequence of which many of them perished for want of subsistence. Pojarkow nevertheless persevered in his undertaking, and followed the course of the *Amur* to where it enters the Eastern Sea. Thence he went northward along the sea-coast, and in the year 1646, returned to *Jakutzk*, by a route very different from that he had pursued in going; carrying with him hostages, and many packages of skins, which he had collected from the Tartar tribes. In the report he made of his expedition, he stated, that "the whole country near both "the upper and the lower *Amur*, would infallibly "be brought under the dominion of *Russia*, "provided the Government would employ 300 "men to that purpose, and build three *ostrogs* "or forts; the forts to be each guarded with "fifty men, whilst the other 150 men might be "employed (the French translation of Muller's "History of the *Amur* says) *pour battre la* "*campagne*, to keep the people of the country "in their duty, from whom little resistance was "to be apprehended." This shews the midland regions

regions of *Asia* to have been at that time in nearly as deserted a state as the more northern parts. Pojarkow's report, with the description given of the breadth of the *Amur*, and of the countries along its banks, determined the Russian Governors in *Siberia* to set to work to incorporate both the river and all the country adjacent with the Russian Empire. In the spring of 1651, a force, which was composed partly of Kossaks and partly of Promyschleni, in number about 300, arrived at a place on the banks of the *Amur*, called *Albasin*, between the 53d and 54th degree of latitude, and a little to the West of the meridian of *Jakutzk*, which was the residence of a Prince of the Country, whose name was Albasa. By the Russians, or by the inhabitants themselves, the place was destroyed; and the Russians, in the beginning of June, embarked in boats on the *Amur*, and descended with the stream.

Albasin.

The country near this part of the *Amur* was inhabited by a tribe or nation of the Tartars, called Dauri. As the Russians approached their villages, the inhabitants set fire to and abandoned their dwellings. At the end of three days navigation, the Russians came to a fortified place, where the Dauri had determined to make a stand. Their fortifications consisted of ramparts, ditches, and masked communications, and they had about a thousand fighting men, 50 of whom were Chinese Tartars in the service of the Chan or

The Dauri, a Tartar Nation.

CHAP. III.

Emperor of *China*, to whom the Dauri were tributary. Here were also some Chinese traders with merchandize; and here it was that the Russians and the Chinese, in their encroachments on *Tartary*, first came into contact.

The Russians summoned the fort to submit, and on the demand being rejected, commenced an attack with three pieces of artillery, which they had brought with them, and with musketry. At the first discharge above twenty of the Dauri fell, upon which the Chinese soldiers withdrew from the battle, and posted themselves at a distance, where they quietly waited the issue, the Chinese commander alledging, that he had no orders to fight against the Russians. The firing of the cannon was continued during the night, and a practicable breach made. At daylight, the Russians stormed. The Daurians had fire-arms, but of inferior construction to those of the Russians, and they were forced from intrenchment to intrenchment; yet having with them their women and their children, they would not, whilst a possibility of resistance remained, hear of surrendering. Six hundred and sixty-one of these brave men were killed, or rather slaughtered, by the Russians, who, it would be degrading to humanity and to the common understanding of mankind, not to regard, in this instance, as a most savage and iniquitous band of robbers and murderers.

They became masters of the place with only the

the loss of four men killed and 45 wounded. Among the prisoners who fell into the hands of the Russians, were 243 women and girls, and 118 children. The next day after the capture of the fort, a Chinese officer habited in a silken robe, came to pay his respects to the Russian Commander. He made a long harangue, of which the only part comprehended was, that the Chinese desired to live in peace and civility with the Russians.

1651. First intercourse between the Russians and the Chinese.

This was the commencement of acquaintance between the Russians and the Chinese. The sequel of their intercourse during a long course of years consisted principally of dispute, or warfare, undertaken on the part of the Chinese to stop the farther encroachments of the Russians. In the beginning, the Russians had more advantage than afterwards in these disputes. Muller relates, or rather complains, 'At first, we saw 'large Chinese armies make feeble and powerless 'efforts against only handfulls of Russians, they 'not knowing how to manage cannon and 'musketry after the European manner. But 'the Jesuits when they went on missions to '*China*, were glad of the opportunity of ren-'dering themselves acceptable to the Emperor 'of *China*, by giving advice and instruction in 'what manner the Russians might be resisted.'

The Chinese kept fleets of armed vessels on the *Amur*, and at times exerted themselves so vigorously as to make it difficult for the Russians to

CHAP. III.

retain possession of any establishment on that river. In 1658, the Russians built the town or

1658. *Ostrog* of *Nertzchinsk*, on the banks of the *Amur*,

Nertzchinsk. or of a river which ran into and joined the *Amur*, and nearly 300 miles (English) more West, and more distant from the sea, than *Albasin*. But in the same year, the Chinese obtained an important victory over an army of 500 Russians, 270 of whom were killed or made prisoners, and the rest dispersed. Among the booty which fell to the Chinese, were 80 zimmers of sables, which had been collected for tribute, each zimmer containing forty skins.

Albasin had been destroyed, but the Russians

1685. soon rebuilt it. In the beginning of June 1685, it was invested by a large Chinese army, and before the end of the month, the Russian Governor was glad to capitulate on terms which allowed the garrison to retire to *Nertzchinsk*, and *Albasin* was again reduced to ashes.

The Russian garrison in its march towards *Nertzchinsk* was met by reinforcements of their countrymen, but the whole returned to *Nertzchinsk*. On a consultation there, it was determined again to re-establish *Albasin*, and the late Governor went thither with 700 men. The Chinese army had departed, and the Russians laid the foundations of a more regular fortification than the former had been. In the summer of 1686, the Chinese again invested *Albasin*, but before they could make much impression, winter

set

set in, and they converted the siege into a blockade. Notice in the mean time was received at *Pekin*, that the Czar of *Muscovy* was preparing an embassy to the Emperor of *China*, to propose terms of accommodation, and the Chinese did not renew the siege.

The difficulties experienced by the Russians in carrying on a war in a part of the empire so remote from their capital and from their main strength, and also the consideration of the advantages of a regular trade with *China*, where the Siberian furs were in extraordinary estimation, inclined them to a peace, as did their natural disposition, the Chinese.

Negociations were opened to settle a line of boundary between the two Empires, all complaints of past aggressions giving place to this, the main object of interest on either side. The pretensions first held out were so wide of each other, that the conferences more than once broke off. The Russian Ambassador proposed the River *Amur* for the common boundary, the northern shore to be Russian territory, and the southern shore Chinese. Had this been conceded, the deep windings of the *Amur* would have brought the Russians close upon the borders of the northern provinces of *China*. The Chinese demanded that the Russians should deliver up *Albasin*, and wholly retire from the *Amur*. All differences, however, were at length accommodated, and in 1689, a line of frontier

Treaty of 1689.

was

CHAP. III.

1689.

Line of frontier agreed upon between the Russians and the Chinese.

was agreed upon, by which the lower *Amur* (under which denomination was comprehended nearly all of the river between *Albasin* and the sea) with the shores on each side, and a considerable extent of territory to the North of the entrance, were affirmed to the Chinese Empire; and a chain of mountains which extended in a line parallel with the *Amur*, and terminated eastward at the sea-coast between the entrances of the rivers *Amur* and *Ud*, was declared part of the frontier line, with the exception, that the sovereignty of the country between the said mountains and the river *Ud*, should be regarded as a matter undecided, and the consideration be postponed indefinitely. By this arrangement, the Chinese secured to themselves exclusively the entrance of the *Amur*. In return, the Russians obtained by the treaty the privilege of sending annually a caravan to *Pekin*; and thus, after a struggle of forty-six years, were set at rest the enterprizes of the Russians on the side of *China*; for though differences did afterwards arise, so as to occasion a renewal of war, the Russians (who, between them and the Chinese, may be generally deemed the aggressors) thought it prudent to recede, and to re-accommodate matters. *

Having

* Concerning the River *Amur*, it may be remarked that we have no account of its having ever been entered by any European vessel; and the knowledge we have of its entrance is from the Jesuit Missionaries, in whose survey it is laid down in 52° 50′ North latitude. In 1797, Captain Broughton entered the *Gulf of*

Having given this summary account of the advance of the Russians on the side of *China*, their northern and more eastern discoveries will be resumed.

of Tartary from the South, and sailed northward till he was stopped by the shallowness of the water. And more lately, Captain Krusenstern sailed between the northern part of *Sagalin Island* and the land of *Tartary*; but the apprehension of giving alarm to the Chinese deterred Captain Krusenstern from exploring to the entrance of the *Amur*.

CHAP. IV.

Report of a large land in the Icy Sea. *Expeditions of* Semoen Deschnew *and his Companions. Vessels called Schitiki. Discovery of a route by land from the* Kolyma *to the* Anadir. *The* Korga *bank. The discovery contested.*

CHAP. IV.

THE first Russian establishments on the *Lena* were formed in 1636, as already noticed. The Rivers *Jana*, *Indigirka*, *Alaseia*, and *Kolyma*, were speedily and successively discovered. In 1644, was built the *Kolymskoi Ostrog*, a fortified station on the eastern shore of the *Kolyma*, near its entrance, by a Kossak of *Jakutzk*, named Michael Staduchin. The name of this river is differently written. Mr. Coxe, Martin Sauer, Malte-brun, the Quarterly Review, and others, have it *Kovima*. Muller, Smirnove, and Krusenstern, use the *l* and not the *v*. I have met with no reason for preference, and have followed the elder authority.

River Kolyma, or Kovima.

1645. Staduchin, when he returned the year following, to *Jakutzk*, among other information, related, that a woman, inhabiting near the *Kolyma*, had reported to him, that in the *Icy Sea* was

Report of Land in the Icy Sea.

was a large island, which extended from opposite the *River Jana* to opposite the *Kolyma*, part of which land might be seen in very clear weather from the continent; and that people who inhabited near that part of the coast passed over the ice in the winter time, to this land in one day with rein-deer. Staduchin also gave notice, that he had heard of a great river, named the *Pogitscha*, which, according to his understanding of what was reported to him, discharged itself in the *Icy Sea*, three or four days sail with a good wind, to the East beyond the River *Kolyma*.

1646. In 1646, was made the first voyage eastward from the *Kolyma*, by a company of Promyschleni, under the direction of Isai Ignatiew, a native of the town of *Mesen*, which is on the eastern shore of the *White Sea*. They met with much ice, but the sea was not frozen, and they found a navigable channel between the ice and the continent; for the bottom near the coast having gentle and gradual slope, the large pieces and islands of ice, when driven towards it by the wind, take the ground at a good distance from the shore, leaving within it a navigable strait. This was the case in the summer of 1646; and the voyagers found the channel so clear that they proceeded forty-eight hours without interruption, and came to a bay in the coast between some rocks, where they anchored. Here they met with people of a nation called Tschuktzki, with whom they entered into traffic. Neither party could understand the other except by signs,

First Voyage of the Russians eastward from the Kolyma.

CHAP. IV.

signs, and they were mutually suspicious. No one of the Russians ventured to trust himself among the Tschuktzki, and the exchanges were made with great caution. The Russians placed their merchandise on the strand and retreated; the Tschuktzki then took what pleased them, and left in return sea-horse teeth, both whole and in carved pieces. The Russians did not in this voyage attempt to proceed farther eastward, but returned to the *Kolyma* *.

1646.

The sea-horse teeth procured was sufficient inducement for other voyages to be speedily undertaken. In June 1647, four vessels, called Kotsches †, departed from the *Kolyma*, the Commander at which place ordered a Kossak to go with them to take care of the interests of the Crown. For this service the Kossak Semoen Deschnew voluntarily offered himself, and was accepted. The Russians by this time had heard of a river called the *Anadir*, that it ran through a well peopled country; but no certain information had been obtained respecting its situation, to discover which was one of the ends proposed by the voyage now undertaken. Michael Staduchin

1647.

* Some early account or report has stated that in the year 1646, a Russian named Bomyschlan, in going from the *Kolyma* to the *Anadir*, doubled the *Cape of the Tschuktzki*; but this is unsupported by evidence, and most probably the name Bomyschlan was no other than a variation in the pronunciation of the word Promyschleni.

† *Kotsche* in Russia, *Kits* in Holland, *Ketch* in England, is a name given to a certain class of small vessels.

Staduchin was also sent this same year in search of the River *Pogitscha*, with orders to construct there a *Simowie*, or winter habitation, and to make the people of the country tributary. 1647.

No part of what had been projected could be effected in 1647, the sea during the whole of the year being full of ice. The summer of the year which followed appears to have been unusually mild; there was an increased eagerness for a renewal of intercourse with the Tschuktzki, and Semoen Deschnew again volunteered his service for the interests of the Crown. 1648.

Some memorials of the early expeditions of the Russians, which were preserved at *Jakutzk*, and which came into the hands of Professor Muller, have furnished almost all that is known of the voyage of Deschnew and his companions in 1648. Mr. Muller's history of it is written in language plain and impressive; but an inadvertence in the method of relating the order of events in its commencement, has rendered his narrative perplexed; and he adopted, upon presumptive circumstances, a view of the subject which can only be established by absolute and indisputable proof.

Voyage of Deschnew, Ankudinow, and Alexeew.

Seven vessels departed that year from the *Kolyma* with the same intention. Concerning the fate of four of these vessels, nothing was found in the memorials; but it is elsewhere said, that they were wrecked on an island to the north of the *Kolyma*, and that the crews were saved

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1648.

saved. The voyages of the other three are deservedly ranked among the most extraordinary atchievements in the history of Discovery. They were commanded by Semoen Deschnew, another Kossak named Gerasim. Ankudinow, and a merchant or principal person of the Promyschleni, named Fedot Alexeew. The vessels are specified by Mr. Muller to have been Kotsches, which are generally understood to be strong built vessels; though the vessels we call Ketches in *England* are, or rather were, distinguished by peculiarities in their sails and rigging, more than by any difference from others in the frame of the hull, having a main-mast and a mizen-mast, and not a fore-mast. Mr. Coxe saw at *Petersburgh* Deschnew's original papers in the Russian language, and was assisted in examining them by Mr. Pallas. In Mr. Coxe's account of Deschnew's navigation, the vessels are sometimes called kotsches, and as frequently are simply called vessels; and it may be observed, that the word kotsche occurs only in the parts copied from Muller; but in the parts translated from the original papers of Deschnew, by Mr. Pallas, which are marked every line with inverted commas, and were evidently intended as literal and close to the original, the words 'shipping' and 'vessel' are used, and not once the word kotsche. And this corresponds with Baron Strahlenberg, who in relating the manner the Russians first obtained knowledge of the Sea

Sea of *Kamtschatka*, says, 'some Russians de-
'parted in the year 1648 from the mouth of the
'*Lena*, in their boats, and bent their course to
'the East. When the wind blew from the
'North, and brought the ice towards the land,
'they took refuge in the entrances of rivers;
'and when the south wind drove the ice from
'the land, resumed their route.'*

Deschnew departed in full confidence of making a successful voyage, and promised that he would find the *River Anadir*, and bring thence a tribute of seven zimmers of furs. 'He did indeed reach
'the *Anadir*, but not so speedily nor with so
'much ease as he had imagined.'

On the 20th of June, 1648, they set sail from the *Kolyma* on this memorable voyage. '*It is to be regretted,*' says Mr. Muller, '*seeing*
'*the little knowledge we have of these countries,*
'*that all the circumstances of this navigation had*
'*not been carefully noted. Deschnew, whose ac-*
'*count of his proceedings was sent to Jakutzk,*
'*seems to speak only incidentally of their adven-*
'*tures by sea. We find no event mentioned till he*
'*had reached the Great Cape of the Tschuktzki.*'

'Nothing

* *Description Historique de l'Empire Russien.* Translated from the German of Baron Strahlenburgh. Amst. 1757. Vol 2. 189. Baron Strahlenberg says, from the *Lena*; Muller, from the *Kolyma*. This is not to be regarded as contradictory, as most probably vessels were fitted out that year from each of those rivers. The voyage being one of eastern adventure and discovery, might naturally be reckoned to commence at the *Kolyma*, or after passing that river.

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1648. Voyage of Deschnew Ankudinow and Alexeew.

'Nothing is said of obstructions from the ice, and 'probably there were none; for, on another oc- 'casion, Deschnew remarks, that the sea is not 'every year so clear of ice as it was at that 'time.'

'*Deschnew's narrative*,' continues Mr. Muller, '*begins at the great Cape of the Tschuktzki; and* '*certainly of all the circumstances of his voyage* '*this merits the most notice. He says, This* '*Cape is situated between the North and the* '*North-east, and turns circularly towards the* '*River Anadir.* On the Russian, or West side 'of the point, a rivulet' [in Pallas's translation the little river *Stanovie*] 'falls into the sea, 'near the entrance of which the Tschuktzki 'have erected a scaffolding like a tower, con- 'structed with the bones of whales. '*Over* '*against the Cape (it is not said on which side)* '*are two islands, upon which were seen some men* '*of the Tschuktzki nation, who had holes pierced* '*in their lips, through which were stuck pieces of* '*the teeth of the sea-horse.** *With a favourable* '*wind one might go by sea from this Cape to the* '*Anadir in three days and three nights; and it* '*might be travelled by land within the same time,* '*as the River Anadir empties itself into a bay.* '*In coasting this Cape, the kotsche of Ankudinow* '*was wrecked, but the crew were saved and taken* '*into the other two.*'

First entrance of the Russians into the Eastern Sea.

The

* It was afterwards known, that the men distinguished with these ornaments, were Americans.

The impression which thus much of Muller's narrative must give, is, that the *great Cape of the Tchuktzki*, there described, and on which the vessel of Ankudinow was wrecked, was the first great promontory which occurred in Deschnew's route from the *Kolyma*, or at least, that it was the first from the *Kolyma* of which Deschnew's papers gave information. In a subsequent part of Mr. Muller's narrative, however, the mention of many circumstances foreign to this intervening, it is related, (or rather, it comes out as if accidently, in consequence of a dispute which Deschnew had with another Russian,) that the promontory on which the vessel of Ankudinow was wrecked was the second great promontory from the *River Kolyma*, and that the first was called *Swiætoi*. In what manner this first, though not the first mentioned, promontory was passed, is not in the slightest or most remote manner hinted at, otherwise than that the name *Swiætoi*, which signifies *Sacred*, seems to imply that it could not be doubled, or sailed round. It may be objected to this inference, that the Russians have named other Capes in the *Icy Sea*, *Swiætoi*; particularly, the North-east cape of the bay into which the River *Jana* falls, which has nevertheless been sailed round; but it will naturally be imagined, that the name was given before the difficulty had been surmounted.

In one memorial found of Deschnew's, it is

 remarked,

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1648.

Voyage of Deschnew and Alexeew.

remarked, 'that the first time he sailed from the 'Kolyma he was forced by the ice to return; 'but that the next year he again sailed thence 'by sea, and, after great danger, misfortunes, 'and with the loss of part of his shipping, 'arrived at last at the mouth of the *Anadir*.'* This gives evidence only to the manner of his departure from the *Kolyma*, and to his arrival at the mouth of the *Anadir*, without ascertaining any intermediate circumstance.

A particular, now generally acknowledged, and which it is important to notice, is, that the *Great Cape of the Tschuktzki*, first described, on which Ankudinow was wrecked, by its small distance from the *River Anadir*, and also by the islands opposite to it, can be no other than the Cape in *Bering's Strait*, since named *Cape East*, on account of its being the most eastern land known of *Asia*.

The amount of the information found in Deschnew's papers respecting the manner of his entrance into the eastern sea, is to be thus stated. That Deschnew and his companions went by sea from the *Kolyma*; that they arrived with their vessels at *Cape East*, which Deschnew called the *Great Cape of the Tschuktzki*; that between the *Kolyma* and *Cape East* there was a Sacred Promontory; and that Deschnew has not related a single circumstance respecting the manner in which the voyage was prosecuted between the *Kolyma* and *Cape East*. An

* Translation by *Pallas*.

An explanation is necessary here to shew that navigators in the *Icy Sea* were enabled to arrive with their vessels at a second promontory, without having sailed round the first. On account of the frequency of being inclosed in the *Icy Sea* by the drift ice, it was customary to construct vessels in a manner that admitted of their being with ease taken to pieces; by which they could be carried across the ice to the outer edge, and there be put together again. Vessels so constructed were called Schitiki; the planks were sewed together with twisted oziers, and fastened to the timbers only by leathern straps, in lieu of nails or pegs. The interstices were stuffed with moss, instead of caulking, and the seams were covered with lathes, to prevent the moss from being washed out. The name Schitiki implies sewn. Notwithstanding the slightness of their construction, they were decked.* Whether the vessels in which Deschnew and his companions left the *Kolyma* were or were not of this kind, seems not to have been specified in the original papers; Pallas translating, *vessel*, where Muller had rendered *kotche*.

Schitiki.

To proceed with the narrative. 'On the '20th September, Deschnew and Alexeew went 'on shore and had an engagement with the 'Tschuktzki, in which Alexeew was wounded. 'Shortly

* *Expedition of Commodore Billings.* By *Martin Sauer.* Preface xvi.

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'Shortly afterwards, the two kotches lost sight 'of each other, and they did not again join com-'pany.

1648. Deschnew arrives at the River Anadir.

'Deschnew was driven about by tempests in 'this strange sea, till, in October, his vessel was 'cast on shore at some distance to the southward 'of the *River Anadir*, and wrecked. Twenty-'five men of his company remained, with whom 'he sought for the *River Anadir*; and, after 'wandering about for ten weeks, they came to 'its banks, not far from the entrance, in a 'country destitute of inhabitants and of wood.' This last defect was the most distressing, with respect to both firing and the chace, animals mostly haunting woodlands, which afford them shelter. Twelve of Deschnew's men went to examine the country higher up the river, but they found no habitations, and some of the party perished with hunger and fatigue. The remainder returned to Deschnew, and during the winter they obtained subsistence by fishing and and the chace.

1649. On the return of summer, they advanced higher up the river, where they found a small tribe of a people called *Anauli*, whom they compelled to pay tribute; remarked, as a meritorious distinction, 'the first collected on the *Anadir*.' But this was only a small part of the wrong committed. The account says, 'As this tribe, 'though not numerous, was nevertheless stub-'born, they were in a short time exterminated.'

The

The light manner in which this transaction is related, and the unjustly favourable colouring given to it, is without excuse. A deed very similar is related by Mr. Coxe, which happened in a later voyage in that quarter of the world, and which seems to afford a key to the conduct of Deschnew and his companions. Michael Nevodtsikoff sailed in a vessel from the *River of Kamtschatka* for *America*, in the year 1745, at which time he discovered some of the nearer (*i. e.* western) *Fox Islands*. Ten persons, under the command of one Larion Belayeff, were sent upon a reconnoitring party on one of the islands. This Larion Belayeff 'treated the 'inhabitants in a hostile manner, upon which 'they defended themselves as well as they could 'with their bone lances. Their resistance gave 'him a pretence for firing; and accordingly he 'shot the whole number, amounting to fifteen 'men, in order to seize their wives.' *

It might have been supposed, that in a strange land, and in the distressed condition of Deschnew and his men, the neighbourhood of a native tribe would have been esteemed, and found, a great convenience; but the Russians were intent on plunder and on asserting dominion; and it is to be suspected, that to obtain the Anauli women the men were murdered.

Deschnew built a fort, which he named the *Anadirskoi*

* *Account of Russian Discoveries.* By the Rev. W. Coxe. 2d edit. 1780. p. 34.

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Anadirskoi Ostrog, intending, nevertheless, after the approaching winter should be passed, to seek his way to the *Kolyma*.

1649.

During this time, other Russians at the *Kolyma* had made expeditions by land into the countries eastward; also, in the summer of 1649, Michael Staduchin went, with two vessels, again to attempt to discover the *Pogitscha River*. One of the vessels was wrecked; Staduchin, in the other, it is related, navigated seven days without finding a river; that then he landed some of his men to make inquiries of the inhabitants of the country, but they knew not of the river he was in search of. The rockiness of the coast prevented his fishing, and provisions beginning to be scarce, he was obliged to return to the *Kolyma*, with no other profit than some teeth of the sea-horse. Other Russians, who made an expedition up a river called the *Anui*, which is to the East of the *Kolyma*, learnt that the *Pogitscha River* was the same river which was called also the *Anadir*, and that the shortest and most certain route to it from the *Kolyma* was by land. On this information, early in the Spring of 1650, a number of volunteers undertook the journey to the *Anadir*, under the direction of Semoen Motora, having for their guide a man of a tribe called the Chodynzes, whom they had taken prisoner. They arrived at the banks of the *Anadir* some time in April, where, to the mutual surprize of both parties, they found and joined

Discovery of a route by land, from the Kolyma to the Anadir.

1650

joined Deschnew and his company. Shortly after, Michel Staduchin followed in the same route. Some disagreement among these chiefs occasioned them to separate. Deschnew and Motora went in search of the *River Penschinska*, which falls into the gulph of the same name in the *Sea of Ochotzk*; but the want of guides obliged them to return to the *Anadir*. Michel Staduchin and his party then departed for the *Penschinska*; and what became of them is not known, for they were not heard of afterwards.

1650. Michel Staduchin.

Deschnew and Motora constructed boats at the *Anadirsk* to make discovery towards the sea. In 1651, Motora was killed in a battle against the Anauli. The year following Deschnew descended the *Anadir* in his boats, and discovered a sand-bank, which extends from the northern side of the entrance of the river far into the sea. The general appellation in *Siberia* for these kind of banks is *Korga*, and no other name was given to this bank. It was remarkable for being the resting-place of multitudes of sea-horses, and the teeth which Deschnew procured at this time were thought good recompence for his trouble.

1651. 1652. The Korga Bank.

Deschnew cut down wood to build a vessel [Mr. Muller says a kotsche,] on board of which he proposed to send by sea to *Jakutzk* the tribute which had been collected; but the want of other materials necessary for building obliged him to relinquish the design. This, more strongly than any other circumstance related of the Russian discoveries,

1653.

CHAP. IV.

discoveries, has the appearance of Deschnew having ascertained a navigable communication, round the country of the Tschuktzki, between the *Sea of Kolyma* and the *Sea of Anadir*. Other evidence relative to this subject will shortly occur. It should be remarked here, however, that by whatsoever route Deschnew had made his passage from the *Kolyma* to the *Anadir*, he regarded it as more safe for the conveyance of the tribute collected, than to send it through the country of the Anauli and Jukagiri, which lay between the *Anadirsk Fort* and the *Kolyma*.

1654. In 1654, Deschnew made a second voyage to the *Korga*, and found there another company of Russians, who had arrived from *Jakutzk* under a Kossak named Seliwerstow. This Seliwerstow had accompanied Michel Staduchin in 1649, and had been sent by him to *Jakutzk*, with a proposal to go for sea-horse teeth on the government account; which proposal was accepted, and Seliwerstow was now come with an order from the governor, to make the people inhabiting between the *Penschinska Gulf* and the *Anadir* tributary. At the time this order was given, it was not known at *Jakutzk* that Deschnew had formed an establishment at the *Anadir*, and the arrival of Seliwerstow with such an appointment was the occasion of new disputes.

Seliwerstow.

Claims the discovery of the Korga.

In the account of this contention, Mr. Muller first brings into notice that there were two great

Tschuktzki

Tschuktzki promontories, and that the vessel of Ankudinow was wrecked on the more distant promontory of the two from the *Kolyma*. CHAP. IV.

Seliwerstow claimed to Staduchin and himself the discovery of the *Korga*, as if they had come to this place by sea in 1649. Deschnew complained against this claim in several petitions and memorials; and from these memorials, Mr. Coxe informs us, Mr. Muller extracted his account of Deschnew's voyage. In one memorial, Deschnew set forth, that "Staduchin "having in vain attempted to go by sea, after- "wards ventured to pass over the chain of moun- "tains, then unknown, and reached by that "means the *Anadir*. Seliwerstow and his party "went to the same place from the *Kolyma* by "land; and the tribute was afterwards sent to "the last-mentioned river across the mountains, "which were very dangerous to pass amidst the "tribes of Korjaks and Jukagirs, who had been "lately reduced by the Russians."

In another memorial complaining of Seliwerstow, it is, that Deschnew speaks of a first promontory, which he named *Swiætoi*. The words are; "Seliwerstow and Staduchin never reached "the rocky promontory which is inhabited "by numerous bodies of the Tschuktzki, over "against which are the islands, whose inhabitants "wear artificial teeth thrust through their under "lips. This is not the first promontory from the "River *Kolyma*, called Swiætoi-nos, but another

"far

CHAP. IV.

"far more considerable, and very well known "to himself (Deschnew,) because the vessel of "Ankudinow was wrecked there, and because "he had there taken prisoners some of the "people who were rowing in their boats, and "had seen the islanders with teeth in their "lips." *

The discovery of a way over land from the *Kolyma* to the *Anadir*, caused for a length of time a discontinuance of attempts to make the passage by going round the country of the Tschuktzki.

Deschnew, in his expeditions to the *Korga*, became acquainted with the Korjaki who inhabited on the South side of the *Anadir*; and among them he found a woman of *Jakutzk*, who had belonged to his former associate, Fedot Alexeew.

Of Ankudinow and Alexeew.

From her it was learnt, that Alexeew and Ankudinow had died of the scurvy, that others of their company had been slain by the natives, and that a few had made their escape in small vessels; but in what direction they went, or what became of them, she could not tell.

* As translated by Professor Pallas. In *Coxe's Russian Discoveries*, Appendix, p. 316.

CHAP. V.

Attempts from the European Sea to discover a North-east Passage, by the Danes, by the Dutch, and by John Wood, *an Englishman.*

CHAP. V.

IN 1653, the Danes sent three ships to attempt a passage by the North-east to *India*. They passed the *Waigatz*, but returned without finding any circumstance of encouragement; on the contrary, M. Martiniere, who went as surgeon in this voyage, conjectured that the North part of *Nova Zembla* extended eastward, and joined or was part of the continent, making the *Sea of Kara* an inclosed sea, except at the *Waigatz*. A part of the eastern coast of the *Sea of Kara* (as drawn in the charts) takes a small westerly direction, which probably gave rise to the conjecture; but the shape of the North-eastern coast of *Nova Zembla*, as found in the third voyage of Barentsz, would always have opposed it, if the matter had never been ascertained, which it has since been.

1653. Voyage of three Danish ships.

In some French charts, the northern promontory, to the East of the *Sea of Kara*, is named *Terre de Jelmer*, specified to have been discovered by Cornelys Jelmerson in 1664. I find no other mention of such discovery; but in Harris's Collection

1664.

CHAP. V. 1670.

Collection of Voyages is mentioned that the Dutch tried, in 1670, to discover a North-east passage; of which attempt it is loosely said, that those who made the voyage, reported on their return, that they had sailed to the height of between 70 and 80 degrees, and had found the sea to the East of *Nova Zembla* open, and clear of ice.

1676. Voyage of John Wood.

In 1676, Mr. John Wood, who had sailed a few years before as mate with Captain Narbrough in his voyage to *Chili*, offered a plan to his Majesty King Charles II, and to the Duke of York, 'for the discovery of a passage to the *East* '*Indies* by the North-east; sailing about *Nova* '*Zembla* and *Tartary*, and so to *Japan*.' His proposal was accepted, and one of the King's frigates, named the Speedwell, was manned and victualled, and Mr. Wood appointed to command her; and as it was thought prudent not to venture a ship singly on an enterprize of this nature, the Duke of York, with other persons of distinction, at their joint charge, bought and fitted out a pink, named The Prosperous, of 120 tons burthen, the command of which was given to Captain William Flawes, with directions to sail in company with Captain Wood.

Wood, in a kind of preface to his account of his voyage, gives the reasons which induced him to think there was a probability of a passage to *India* by the NE. He says, 'My first reason was 'grounded on the opinion of W. Barentsz, which 'was, that *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland* being 'three

1676. Captain John Wood.

'three hundred leagues distant one from the 'other, that if he had steered away North-east 'from the *North Cape*, which would have brought 'him in the mid-way betwixt the two lands, that 'then he might probably have found an open 'sea, free from ice, and consequently a passage; 'and in that opinion he remained till his dying 'day; for he did verily believe that the ice was 'not to be met off of either shore more than 20 'leagues; and that his being too near the shore 'of *Nova Zembla* was the cause of his meeting 'so much ice, and the overthrow of his voyage.' It is not the opinion of Barentsz, but of Jan Cornelisz Rijp, that Wood has quoted in his first reason.

Another of the reasons given by him is, the report mentioned in Hendrik Hamel's narrative of his captivity in the *Korea*, that whales were taken in the *Sea of Tartary*, in which were found European harping-irons. On this subject something will be said hereafter. His fourth reason (for his reasons are numbered) is, that some person had 'heard a Dutchman relate,' (as he did believe to be the real matter of fact) 'that he had been under the pole itself, and 'that it was as warm there as it was at *Amsterdam* 'in summer time.' A fifth reason is, that two other Dutchmen had sailed to latitude 89° N. as proved by the journals kept in the ships; where no ice was met with, and the sea ran hollow as in the *Bay of Biscay*. Another of his reasons

was

CHAP. V. 1676. Captain John Wood.

was, the worm-eaten driftwood met with in high northern latitudes. But the character of Wood's abilities is most conspicuous in his concluding reason. He says; 'A reason peculiar to myself, 'though when known, to the benefit of all mankind, was, that having for some years past 'framed an hypothesis of the motion of the two 'magnetical poles (for two such there be;) and 'by the observations of those that writ of that 'subject, with my own observations and costly 'experiments, I having found out their motion 'very near, and thereby the inclination of the 'magnetical needle under the horizon, in all 'latitudes and longitudes, and variation of the 'compass to be found in any place in this world, 'without assistance of any other luminary. But 'not being fully satisfied, as I might be if I could 'come so near the pole as was supposed, it 'prompted my inclination to attempt this voyage.' Such strange pretensions, with so much credulity and ignorance, are remarkable. Wood had before given to the public a calculation of the longitude, from an eclipse of the moon observed by him in a port of *Patagonia*, the result of which was many degrees wide of what is now known to be the true longitude of that place.

The Speedwell frigate, manned with 68 men, and the Prosperous pink, with a crew of 18 men, sailed from the *Buoy of the Nore* on the 28th of May, 1676. Agreeably to the opinion he had recommended, Wood shaped his course well northward,

May.

northward, not coming within sight of the coast of *Norway* or the land of the *North Cape*. On June the 22d, their latitude was 75° 59′ N. and their longitude about midway between the meridian of the *North Cape* and the West coast of *Nova Zembla*. That day at noon they made ice right ahead, which was found to lie in a direction ESE. and WNW.; and here Wood's firmness and judgment were put to the test. He wished to go to the North-east, and also to keep clear of land. He had to choose between two difficulties; to preserve his latitude and distance from land at the expence of making westing, which he considered as losing so much ground, or to advance eastward at the expence of lessening both his latitude and his distance from land. Captain Wood was unfortunate enough to prefer the latter. He stood 'ESE. along the ice,' seeking and finding many openings in it, but none which afforded a passage through to the North; and on the 26th, in the evening, he came in sight of the coast of *Nova Zembla*.

1676. June. Captain John Wood.

At Nova Zembla.

The 29th, the weather was foggy, the wind at West and WbS. Captain Wood relates, 'We being 'embayed by the ice, stood away South to get 'from it. At 11 at night, the Prosperous Pink 'bore down upon us, crying out, "Ice on the 'weather bow," whereupon we clapped the helm 'hard a-weather and veered out the mainsheet, 'but before the ship could ware [veer] round and 'bring to upon the other tack, she run on a 'sunken

Wood's ship wrecked.

CHAP. V. 1676. Captain John Wood.

'sunken ledge of rocks, and there stuck fast. 'Captain Flawes's ship got clear. We used all 'possible means by carrying out a hawser and 'anchor and throwing provisions overboard, but 'could not get the ship off, for the tide was 'ebbing.'

When the tide of flood made it brought with it a great sea. The ship beat hard, and soon made more water than the pumps could discharge. The crew got safe to shore, except two men, who were drowned, and the ship shortly after broke to pieces. Much of the provision was saved, and Captain Wood and his men embarked on board the Prosperous, in which vessel they immediately sailed on their return, and arrived back to the *Thames*, August the 24th.

Captain Wood found the rise and fall of the tide at *Nova Zembla*, eight feet. He says, 'The sea water was much salter there than any 'I ever tasted, heavier, and certainly the clearest 'in the world, for I could see the ground very 'plain at 80 fathoms depth, and could see the 'shells at the bottom very plain.' Of the land, he says, 'The most part of it was covered with 'snow. That which was bare could not be 'walked upon, being like bogs, on which grows 'a kind of moss which beareth a small blue and 'yellow flower, and this is all the product of this 'country. Under the superficies of this earth, 'about two feet deep, after we had dug so low, 'we came to a firm body of ice, which I think

'was

'was never heard of before. So those men who 'imagine, if forced to winter to the northward, 'that they would dig caves in the earth to pre- 'serve them from the cold, would find here bad 'lodging.' It is not probable that this was the case in any other than the low flat parts of *Nova Zembla*. Solid ice under the surface of the earth is remarked by Mackenzie, in his travels across the northern part of *America*, and the same is found in marshy places in *Siberia*, which are there called Kaltusæ.

What Captain Wood says of the saltness, weight, and clearness of the sea water at *Nova Zembla*, rests on his single evidence.

The variation of the compass in this voyage, was 7 degrees westerly near the North Cape; and 13 degrees westerly on the coast of *Nova Zembla*.

CHAP. VI.

Invasion of Kamtschatka. Evidence collected concerning the discovery of Lands in the Icy Sea.

CHAP. VI.

IT is said that the Russains first heard of *Kamtschatka* about the year 1690; but it is more probable that they received notice of it immediately on their establishing themselves on the *Anadir*. We find them at that time extending their enterprizes southward towards the *Penschinska*; but no expedition along the outer coast, southward, was undertaken by them till the year 1696, when a troop of 16 Kossaks travelled in that direction, not quite so far as to the river since named the *River of Kamtschatka*. They plundered some of the northern Kamtschadale villages under the name of exacting tribute, and returned to the *Anadirsk*. Among the things taken by them from the Kamtschadales, were 'writings in an unknown language,' afterwards ascertained to be Japanese.

1696. Invasion of Kamtschatka.

1697. Expedition of Atlassow.

The following year, *i. e.* 1697, Wolodimer Atlassow, a Kossak officer, undertook, and was employed by the Jakutzk government, to conquer

quer *Kamtschatka*. He departed from *Jakutzk* with a few followers, going first to the *Kolyma*, and thence over land to the *Anadir*. A report made by him of his expedition was taken down in writing before one of the tribunals at *Moscow*. He was four weeks making his journey from the *Kolyma* to the *Anadir*, but it was usually performed in three. He remarks, 'that between 'the *Kolyma* and the *Anadir* there are two Pro- 'montories or great Capes, called the *Tscha- 'latskoi nos*, and the *Nos Anadirskoi*; that 'both these Capes cannot be doubled by any 'vessel, because in summer the western coast 'of the first is barred with floating ice, and 'in winter, the sea there is frozen; whilst at 'the second, which is towards the *Anadirsk*, 'the sea is clear and without ice.'*

CHAP. VI. 1697.

At the *Anadirsk Fort*, Atlassow was reinforced with 60 Kossaks and a number of volunteers. Against this force the Kamtschadales could make no resistance.

Atlassow describes the Kamtschadales to be smaller in stature than the inhabitants of the countries northward of them, having great beards and small faces. They lived under ground in winter, and during the summer months in cabins elevated above the ground on posts, to which they

* *Description Historique de l'Empire Russ.* par *M. le Baron de Strahlenberg.* Vol. II. p. 242.

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they ascended by ladders. They kept animal food buried under leaves and earth, till it was quite putrid: they cooked it with water in earthen or wooden vessels, by putting in red-hot stones. 'Their cookery,' Atlassow says, 'smelt so strong 'that a Russian could not support the odour.'

The Russians learnt of their Kamtschadale prisoners concerning the *Kurili Islands* to the South of *Kamtschatka*; that beyond the Islands seen from the continent there were others, the inhabitants of which were reported to live in walled towns, and that vessels had come from thence with people clad in cotton and silks, who had porcelain ware. Atlassow found living among the Kamtschadales, a native of a southern country, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of *Kamtschatka* two years before. This man had a small mustachio, black hair, and his countenance was thought to resemble that of a Greek. On seeing an image among the Russians, he broke out into lamentation, and said there were such in his country. 'It was concluded from all this 'that he was an Indian or a Japanese.'

A kossak who was sent by Atlassow to examine the country about the river *Kamtschatka*, reported, that along the banks, and on the sea coast near it, were counted '160 villages, or 'forts built of wood and earth, containing each '150 or 200 men.' Before the coming of the Russians, the natives lived scattered; but afterwards,

wards, they collected for their defence, in which Baron Strahlenberg observes, they were not fortunate, for the Russians attacked and set fire to the villages, 'killing as many as they could of 'those who fled, to oblige the others to submit 'to them.'

Some vestiges were discovered of Russians having formerly been in *Kamtschatka*. It was a kind of traditional report among the natives, that strangers had arrived among them who had married women of the country, and had settled there. One of them was said to be named Fedotow, who, it is conjectured was the son of Fedot Alexeew. After a time, they quarrelled among themselves, and separated, and it is supposed that they were all killed by the natives.

The Russian government in *Europe* had hitherto taken little interest in the affairs of the remote eastern provinces; but after the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Czar, Peter the Great, found leisure to bestow attention on this part of his dominions, and sent directions to the Governor of *Jakutzk*, to prosecute the discovery of the lands in the *Icy Sea*; and to collect information concerning the country of *Kamtschatka*, and the discoveries which had been made in times past. In consequence of these orders, many individuals who had made voyages were examined, and their depositions taken down in writing; by which much curious matter has been preserved. Most of the examinations thus taken

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were lodged in the Chancery of *Jakutzk*, and some years afterwards were submitted to the inspection of Professor Muller.

Lands in the Icy Sea.

The earliest of the depositions noticed in Müller's History, is one which was made by a kossak named Nikiphor Malgin, and relates to lands in the *Icy Sea*. The reports concerning those lands had fallen into disrepute, in consequence of some vessels having been driven to a considerable distance from the coast of the continent in navigating between the *Lena* and the *Kolyma*, without any person in them seeing land to the North. Nikiphor Malgin, however, affirmed, that some time between the years 1667 and 1675, in sailing from the river *Lena* to the river *Kolyma*, he had seen an Island to the North. Also, that after he arrived at the *Kolyma*, a merchant there, named Jacob Wiætka, related to him and to others, that formerly he had sailed from the *Lena* in company with nine vessels for the *Kolyma*, three of which vessels were driven to this Island, and some of the men belonging to them had landed, who saw there marks of the hoofs of unknown animals, but no human inhabitant; and that these three vessels afterwards arrived safe in the *Kolyma*.

1702. A person named Michailo Nafetkin deposed, that in or about the year 1702, being out at sea between the entrances of the rivers *Kolyma* and *Indigirka*, he had seen land to the North, and that Danilo Monastirskoi, a pilot who was on board

board the same vessel with him said, that this land joined to land opposite to *Kamtschatka*. Several other reports concerning lands in the *Icy Sea*, which it would be useless to mention here, are found in the information collected by these enquiries and examinations. CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Voyage of Taras Staduchin *from the* Kolyma *to the Sea of* Kamtschatka.

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AMONG the depositions cited by M. Muller, one which was made by the same Nikiphor Malgin already mentioned, is the most deserving of attention. This was taken in February 1710. Malgin affirmed, that a merchant named Taras Staduchin, did many years before relate to him, 'that he had sailed with ninety men in a kotsche 'from the river *Kolyma*, to make discovery con- 'cerning the *Great Cape of the Tschuktzki*: that 'not being able to double it, they had crossed 'over on foot to the other side, where they built 'other vessels. The small breadth of the *Isthmus* 'at the part where they crossed, is noticed as 'the most remarkable circumstance in this depo- 'sition.' It is farther stated, that they afterwards followed the coast round the *Kamtschatka Peninsula*, till they came to the *Penschinska Gulf*; and in the short account given of this navigation is found, expressed in an obscure manner as from inaccurate or doubtful recollection, the earliest notice of the *Kurilski Islands*.

Voyage of Taras Staduchin. Date not known.

Isthmus of the Tschuktzki.

Here

Here it must naturally be conjectured, that the vessel in which they departed from the *Kolyma*, notwithstanding she is called a kotsche, was taken to pieces and conveyed across the neck of land, and either set up again as before, or made use of towards building new vessels.

This is a circumstantially described voyage, departing by sea from the *Kolyma*, and arriving to the *Sea of Kamtschatka*, not by a clear navigation round a North-east promontory of *Asia*; but in part by travelling over a narrow isthmus of land. Besides the expedition of Semoen Deschnew, and this of Taras Staduchin, only one other instance is mentioned in the accounts of the discoveries of the Russians, of any vessel departing by sea from the *Kolyma* and arriving at the *East Sea*, which Professor Gmelin treats as resting on unauthenticated tradition. The story is, that some man had gone in a vessel not much larger than a skiff, (*ein kerl mit einem schifflein das nicht viel grosser als ien schiffertahn*) from the river *Kolyma* to *Kamtschatka* *. With a vessel so easy to transport over land, it is less difficult to imagine the passage to be made across an isthmus, than round a sacred promontory. The carle was probably some man who fled from justice.

Briefly, the whole evidence respecting our knowledge of the North-eastern extremity of *Asia*,

* *Gmelin Reise Durch Siberien.* Vol ii. p. 437. Gottingen. 1767.

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Asia, rejecting improbable and unsupported rumours, stands on the following footings. Of three voyages stated to have been made eastward from the *Kolyma* to the sea of *Anadir*, the track of one only is clearly described; *i. e.* that of Taras Staduchin, who not being able to sail round the land of the Tschuktzki, crossed over a narrow isthmus on foot from one to the other sea. What Taras Staduchin performed, was possibly done by Deschnew, and it is by no means improbable that Taras Staduchin was encouraged in his attempt, by a knowledge that Deschnew had already in that manner made his passage into Eastern Sea.

The voyage of Semoen Deschnew in 1648, is the one circumstance which has been regarded and admitted as proof of a compleat separation of *Asia* and *America*. It is important to remark, that this admission is not so old by nearly a century, as the expedition on which it was founded; for no certainty of an absolute navigation having been performed round a north-east promontory and extremity of *Asia*, was pretended in Muller's time, till it was inferred by him from the writings of Deschnew found in *Siberia*. Mr. Muller has acknowledged that from the perusal of these papers, he adopted a belief which did not before prevail; and he regarded it as a second discovery. Charts which had been made in *Siberia*, by people inhabiting near the coasts of the *Icy Sea*, shewed *uncertainty*, and

what

what is to be considered only as an expression of conjecture, respecting the North-eastern limit of *Asia*: the coast not being in any chart defined by a plain clear outline, but a vacancy left, which even M. Muller, however he has interpreted the voyage of Deschnew, has not ventured to supply; whereas a southern promontory is clearly delineated in the charts without any indication of doubt.

Some reports of a navigation having been found practicable from the *Icy Sea* round the North-east of *Asia*, appear nevertheless to have reached *Europe* before Professor Muller went into *Siberia*. Scheuchzer, in the Introduction to his translation of Kæmpfer's History of *Japan*, cites some remarks which had been published concerning the Tartars, wherein it is said, 'The commerce 'between *Siberia* and *Kamtschatka*, is carried on 'two different ways: some go over the *Gulf of* '*Kamtschatka* [or *Sea of Ochotzk*] which runs up 'between it and *Great Tartary*. But those 'inhabitants of *Siberia*, who live near the *River* '*Lena* and along the *Icy Ocean*, in their com'merce with *Kamtschatka*, commonly go with 'their ships round a Cape or Nos called *Tsche*'*laginskoi*, or *Swiætoi*, to avoid the Tschelatzki 'and Tschuktzki, two fierce and barbarous nations 'possessed of the North-east point of *Siberia*.' On this vague authority, Scheuchzer concludes that *Asia* is not contiguous to *America*. The preface to the English translation of Muller's history

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history of the Russian discoveries speaks in the like manner, of voyages round the North-east of *Asia* being frequent, 'although liable to delay 'occasioned by the ice.'

Baron de Strahlenberg was taken prisoner by the Russians at the battle of *Pultowa*, and sent, with other Swedish officers, into *Siberia*, where he was detained twelve years. The information given by him respecting *Siberia*, he being also an intelligent and inquiring man, is much to be relied on. His description of the Russian Empire was published in 1730, which was before M. Muller was in *Siberia*. Baron Strahlenberg speaks of the expedition of 1648 as the one by which *Kamtschatka* was discovered, and what he says of the navigation seems to favour the opinion, that Deschnew made his passage by sea round the Tschuktzki country; but the credit given by him to the testimony of Atlassow, is of a contrary tendency.

Strahlenberg considered the country we call Tschuktzki to be inhabited by two different nations, whom the Russians had not been able to bring to submission. 'When any of them 'are taken prisoners, they kill themselves. They 'inhabit the extremity of the North-east of *Asia*, 'towards what is called the *Cape Suetoi Nos* and '*Tschalaginskoi*.'

The reader will have remarked a want of accord in the different accounts in the names assigned to the capes or promontories of the Tschuktzki

Tschuktzki country; and the same is observable in the charts, as well to capes which are unquestionably known, as to the presumed Northern Nos; which disagreement it is particularly necessary to keep in mind in reading Muller's History. CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VIII.

Expedition of the Russians *against the* Tschuktzki. *Journey of* Sin Popow *to the* Tschuktzki Nos. *Farther account of the* Tschuktzki *Nation, and of the proximity of a* Great Country *to the East.*

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1701. IN the year 1701, the Jukagiri inhabiting on the North side of the River *Anadir*, who had been made tributary to the Russians, complained to the governor of the *Anadirsk Fort* of being annoyed by the hostilities of the Tschuktzki, and prayed for assistance. The governor sent them 24 men, to whom 110 Jukagiri joined themselves, and they made an irruption into the country of the Tschuktzki. They came to a place by the sea side where were fourteen Tschuktzki habitations, of a class called *pictons* (or fishers), who were so distinguished because they had no rein-deer. The Tschuktzki were required to submit, which they refused to do, and were attacked. About ten men of the Tschuktzki were killed, and the women and children made prisoners. Some Tschuktzki men who were taken, it was the intention of the Russians to keep as hostages; but being shut up together, they found opportunity, and preferring death

death to living in captivity, their wives and children being also at the disposal of their enemies, they all killed one the other. The Russians, before they effected their retreat, were attacked by a large force, which they repulsed, but they were afterwards surrounded by above 3,000 of the Tschuktzki, and kept five days encompassed. They escaped, however, with small loss, to the *Anadirsk*. The Tschuktzki fought principally with bows and arrows; and used slings. CHAP. VIII.

In January 1711, a kossak named Peter Sin Popow, with a promyschleni named Sin Toldin, and a native jukagir, who had been baptised, were sent from the *Anadirskoi Fort* to the lower part of the *Anadir*, to collect the tribute; with orders afterwards to proceed to the *Tschuktzki Nos*, to try if by admonition they could bring the Tschuktzki inhabiting there to obedience, and prevail on them to deliver *Amanates*, by which name they call hostages. At their return to the *Anadirsk*, they gave the following account of their mission:— 1711.

Sin Popow's account of the Tschuktzki nation.

'From the mouth of the *River Anadir* they 'passed over to the obstinate Tschuktzki, who 'inhabit on the other side of a Gulf, and thence 'they went to the *Tschuktzki Nos*. The 'Tschuktzki all refused to acknowledge sub-'jection, or to pay the tribute. They said that 'Russians had before come to them in vessels, 'to whom they had not paid tribute, neither

CHAP. VIII.

'would they now, nor would they deliver *Amanates.*' Popow could not prevail on them to alter this determination. He had been directed to make all the observations he was able on the country, and on the customs of the people, and from his remarks the following particulars are extracted:—

'The *Tschuktzki Nos* was destitute of trees. 'On the shores near the *Nos*, are found sea-horse 'teeth in great numbers. The Tschuktzki in 'their solemn engagements invoke the Sun to 'guarantee their performance. Some among 'them have flocks of tame rein-deer, which 'oblige them often to change their place of 'residence; but those who have no rein-deer 'inhabit the coasts on both sides of the *Nos*, 'near banks where the sea-horses are used to 'come, on which and on fish they mostly subsist. 'These have habitations dug in the earth and 'covered with earth. *Opposite to the Nos, an 'Island, it is said, may be seen at a great distance, 'which is called by the Tschuktzki, the Great 'Country.*' [This seems the most early intimation in the Russian accounts of the proximity of *America* to *Asia.*] 'The inhabitants of that land 'pierce holes through their cheeks, in which 'they insert large teeth made of pieces cut from 'the teeth of the sea-horse. These people have 'a different language from the Tschuktzki, with 'whom they have been at war from time immemorial. They use bows and arrows, as do the

'Tschuktzki.

'Tschuktzki. Popow saw ten men of this country with their cheeks pierced, who were prisoners to the Tschuktzki. In summer they can go to this land in one day, in their boats or baidars, which are framed of whalebone and covered with seal-skins. In winter they can cross over in one day in their sledges with good rein-deer. On the *Nos* were seen no other wild animals than the red foxes and wolves, and those were not numerous from the scarcity of wood. But in the other land (the *Great Country*) were said to be many animals, as sables, martins, foxes of several kinds, bears, sea-otters and others. The inhabitants there also have large herds of tame deer. According to the computation of Popow, the number of the Tschuktzki inhabiting the *Nos*, reckoning those who have rein-deer and those who live on the coast, was at least two thousand men. The people of the *Great Country* were thought to be three times as numerous. To go from the *Anadirskoi Ostrog* to the *Nos*, with laden rein-deer, and consequently travelling slow, was reckoned by the Tschuktzki to be a journey of ten weeks; but they must not be detained in the way by storms, which are frequently accompanied with whirlwinds of snow. The way is by the foot of the *Rock Mathol*, which is situated in the deepest part of a great Bay.'

The *Tschuktzki Nos* in Popow's account, cannot consistently with probability be supposed

CHAP. VIII.

other than the eastern promontory; but the length of time said to be requisite for laden rein-deer to go thither from the *Anadirsk Fort* (in which I suspect there has been some mistake), caused Mr. Muller to understand a more northern promontory to have been intended; and he has placed the *Rock Matkol* in a bend of the coast between his eastern and northern promontory.

1718 A few years after Popow's journey, *i. e.* in 1718, some Tschuktzki of the *Nos*, went to the *Anadirsk Fort*, and made submission, from whom the following particulars were learnt and noted:

'The number of the Tschuktzki who occupy 'the *Nos* between the *Anadir* and the *Kolyma*,' [under the term *Nos* is here comprehended the whole Tschuktzki territory,] 'may amount to 'three thousand five hundred men, or more, but 'they do not well know how to reckon them. 'They live without magistrates and without 'government, so that every one is at liberty to 'do as he pleases; nevertheless, those of the 'same race live together in a kind of society. 'Their flocks of rein-deer are very numerous. 'Opposite to the *Nos* is seen an *Island* of moderate size, and without trees. In their baidars 'they go in half a day to this Island; and beyond 'it is a *Great Continent*, which may be seen from 'the Island in clear weather. In that country 'are large forests.'

CHAP. IX.

Invasion of the Kurili Islands. *Expeditions in the* Icy Sea.

1711.

IN 1711, the Russians invaded the *Kurili Islands*. The northernmost, and nearest to the continent, was inhabited by emigrant Kamtschadales, who had retired thither to avoid the Russians. In resisting this new invasion ten of their number fell in battle, and the survivors were reduced to submission.

Invasion of the Kurili Islands.

About the same time, the islands called *Schantarian*, which may be seen from part of the continent between the entrances of the rivers *Ud* and *Amur*, were first visited by the Russians, who found them without inhabitants.

Schantarian Islands.

Some expeditions also took place in the *Icy Sea*, for the purpose of discovering northern lands. A kossak, named Jacob Permakow, had deposed to his having seen land to the North; and a party of twelve kossaks, under the command of Mercurei Wagin, was ordered to journey thither over the ice, when the sea should be frozen, to ascertain the fact; Permakow being appointed to accompany them as their guide. They left *Jakutzk* in the autumn of 1711, and passed the

Permakow and Wagin in the Icy Sea.

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1712. May.

winter near the entrance of the *Jana*. In May 1712, they proceeded northward, over a frozen sea, on nartes, or sledges drawn by dogs; but they kept near the coast as far as to the North-east cape of the bay into which the *River Jana* falls, which bears the name of *Swiætoi-nos*; whence they struck off from the continent direct to the North, and came to land, which they found to be an island. It was destitute of trees and uninhabited. They judged it to be from nine to twelve days journey in circumference, and beyond it, to the North, they imagined they saw another land; but to this last they did not attempt to go, as the spring was much advanced, and their provisions began to run short; for which reasons they returned to the continent.

They arrive at an island.

Wagin wished to obtain fuller information concerning these lands before he returned to *Jakutzk*, and therefore determined to remain on the sea-coast till the ensuing winter, when he might again travel to the North over the ice.

The part of the continent at which he arrived, on returning from the island, was to the East of the bay of the *Jana*, between that and the *River Chroma*, at a place called *Kataju Krest*, on account of a Cross erected there by a kossak named Kataju, but which is not marked in the charts. Finding fish scarce, they travelled towards the *Chroma*, in hopes of a better supply; but, in attempting this journey, they were so much distressed for

for want of provision, that they eat the dogs who had drawn their sledges, and despairing of reaching the *Chroma*, they returned to the *Krest*. On this part of the coast they remained the whole summer, obtaining a slender subsistence on a few fish, wild fowl, and eggs. The people under Wagin in the mean time became discontented; the hardships they had suffered, and the dread of having to encounter yet greater in prosecuting the discovery of the farther land, embittered them against both Wagin and Permakow, the latter of whom they regarded as the author of their sufferings; and at length they conspired, and murdered Wagin, his son, Permakow, and another kossak. After perpetrating this deed, they consulted, and agreed upon an account to render of their expedition at their return, in which it was determined that nothing should be said of their having been at an island. This being settled, they made the best of their way to the *Ust Janskoi Simowie*, or winter habitation, at the mouth of the *Jana*. A relation made by them of their proceedings was taken down in writing in October 1712; they said, that they had travelled from the continent only half a day's journey; that an impetuous wind then arose, which swept from the surface whirlwinds of fine snow, by which the whole company were blinded and dispersed; that after wandering on the ice nearly three weeks, seven of them met at the *Kataju Krest*, and returned

CHAP IX. 1712. October.

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returned in company to the *Ust Janskoi*. This account caused it for a time to be believed, that those who were missing had perished on the ice; but however well the story of the conspirators was contrived for keeping off inquiry, the fact did not remain long concealed. One of the accomplices made confession of the murder, and the whole were sent to *Jakutzk* for trial. They there acknowledged the discovery of a large island; but what they said met with no credit, being regarded as a story invented, in hopes thereby to obtain pardon, or delay of punishment. Mr. Muller says, that when separately examined, their descriptions were thought not to agree.

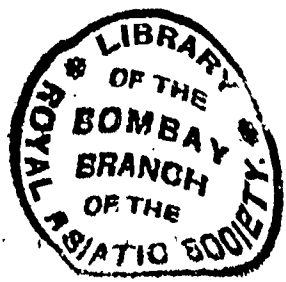
1712. Wasilei Staduchin,

In the summer of 1712, a remarkable voyage was made by sea from the *Kolyma* to the eastward, by a kossak, named Wasilei Staduchin (a name fruitful in enterprize), in a vessel with a crew of 22 men. On his return he wrote to *Jakutzk*, that he had not seen any island to the North, but that to the eastward he had seen 'a promontory which jutted out from the continent, which was inaccessible by sea, on account of its being surrounded with firm ice, through which no vessel could pass.' This was, undoubtedly, the *Swiætoi* or *Sacred Promontory* of Deschnew.

his voyage eastward from the Kolyma.

The voyage of Wasilei Staduchin was performed in one of the vessels called schitiki. Mr. Muller remarks, that at this time the stronger built

built vessels called kotsches had fallen into disuse. The *Icy Sea* is less liable to great disturbance from high winds than the open and unencumbered parts of the ocean. The principal danger is from the ice. The kotsches were best adapted for resisting the shock of encountering ice; and the lighter and more loosely connected vessels for escape if inclosed. It is probable that many of the vessels built in the ports of the Icy Sea were of mixed construction, according to the materials at hand, or to other considerations of convenience or fancy.



CHAP. X.

The Russians build Ships in the Ports of the Eastern Sea. Journey of Alexei Markow *to search for the Northern Lands. First Navigation from* Ochotzk *to* Kamtschatka. *The* Schantarian Isles.

CHAP. X. 1714.

IN 1714, ship-carpenters, seamen, and materials for the construction of vessels, wood excepted, were sent from *Jakutzk* to the port of *Ochotzk*, which is about four degrees more northward than the entrance of the *River Ud*.

In the same year, the government at *Jakutzk* ordered two expeditions by sea to search for the Northern Lands, one to depart from the *Jana*, the other from the *Kolyma*. With each expedition a mariner was sent, to endeavour to discover the navigation from the *Icy Sea* to *Ochotzk* or *Kamtschatka*. The measures for these expeditions were so ill contrived or ill executed, that the commanders did not leave *Jakutzk* till August, and when they reached their appointed places on the sea-coast, it was too late for any attempt by navigation that year.

Journey of Markow on the Icy Sea.

Alexei Markow, the commander of the expedition from the *Jana*, wrote to *Jakutzk*, to recommend

commend discovering the lands to the North by travelling over the ice; which proposal was approved, and he was provided with nartes and dogs, and departed from the *Ust Janskoe Simowie*, or lower establishment on the *Jana*, on or before the middle of the month of March, 1715. He returned to the *Jana* on the 3d of April, and the account rendered by him was to the following purport; *i. e.* that 'during seven days he went 'straight towards the North, over a frozen sea, 'with as much speed as the dogs could make. 'That he found no land; and it was not possible 'for him to proceed, for the ice rose there like 'a chain of mountains. He climbed to the top 'of some of the highest, and looked all around, 'but could discover no land. He then returned 'to the continent.'

1715.

The prescribed voyage from the *Kolyma* was attended with as little success as the one from the *Jana*.

It has been suspected that the persons ordered on these expeditions did not quit the continent; that having fresh in their remembrance the hardships and distresses suffered in Wagin's and Permakow's expedition, they occupied themselves as long as they thought would appear a reasonable time for their absence, in finding good quarters, and in concerting an account to render at their return. This probably was not the fact with respect to Markow. The difference between his mode of proceeding and that of Mercurei

Doubts respecting Markow's Journey not well considered.

CHAP. XV.

Mercurei Wagin, appears not to have been attended to. Wagin from the mouth of the *Jana*, kept near the coast till he came to the *Swiætoi Nos*, or North-east cape of the Bay of the *Jana*; by which he had the advantage of a fresh outset at his own time, and from an advanced point. Markow on the contrary, took his departure from within the entrance of the *Jana*, which is in the bottom of a deep bay, according to the Russian charts nearly three degrees of latitude short of the *Nos*. Sauer reckons the *Swiætoi Nos* to be 400 wersts distant NNE. from the mouth of the *Jana*, which makes the difference in latitude three degrees and a half. A good single day's journey in a sledge drawn by dogs is said to be 80 wersts, equal to about 53 English statute miles; but a journey of seven days continuance with the same dogs would scarcely exceed half that rate. Accordingly, Markow's track, admitting his account, would make but a small penetration into the *Icy Sea* beyond the Bay of the *Jana*. The suspicion which has fallen upon Markow is the more unreasonable, as travelling over the ice was a plan of his own suggesting.

These failures, without much examination into causes, were sufficient to render doubtful the former evidences of northern lands. Nevertheless, instructions were continued to the commanders on the *Kolyma*, that they should endeavour to gain information concerning them, though little

litttle attended to, till accident brought the matter into fresh notice.

In the winter of 1715, was compleated at *Ochotzk*, the first vessel built there capable of navigating in the open sea. She was heavily framed after the model of the loddies in use at *Archangel* and in the *White Sea*. In June 1716, she sailed from *Ochotzk*, commanded by Henry Busch, who Baron Strahlenberg supposed to be a native of *Sweden*; but Muller, who had the information from Busch himself, says that he was a native of *Hoorn* in *North Holland*.

1716. First navigation from Ochotzk to Kamtschatka.

Busch intended to have examined the continuation of the coast eastward and northward from *Ochotzk*, but the winds obliged him to stand across the gulf, and he arrived on the western coast of *Kamtschatka*, near to the entrance of the river *Tigil*. He sailed afterwards to another river of the west coast of *Kamtschatka*, called the *Kompakowa*, where he passed the winter. It is related by Muller, on the authority of Busch, that the sea cast on the shore there a whale, in the body of which was a harpoon of European workmanship, marked with Roman characters. To have entitled this to credit, it ought to have been stated what the roman characters were, but this has been neglected. A similar circumstance had been reported many years before with as small specification of circumstance, by Hendrik Hamel, whose narrative was published at *Rotterdam* in 1668. A doubt

which

CHAP. X. which naturally occurs, is thus argued against by Mr. Muller: 'If I could suppose that Busch 'had any knowledge of a similar case remarked 'in 1653, by the Hollanders who were ship-'wrecked on the coast of the *Korea*, I should 'suspect that he had fabricated his story in 'imitation. But this suspicion is to be rejected, 'for Busch was an ignorant man who could 'neither read nor write, and who scarcely knew 'there was such a country in the world as the '*Korea*. It seems therefore more proper to 'conclude that the matter is confirmed by a 'second example.'

Mr. Muller seems too favourable to the authority of Busch in this matter. Busch being a Hollander, and an old seaman, could not well have missed hearing of the adventures of his countrymen at the *Korea*, and no men have been greater imitators in their narratives than sea voyagers. Mr. Muller was inclined to credit both Hamel and Busch, as what they said was in exact correspondence with his own hypothesis. If whales could be proved to have gone from the *northern European Sea* to the *Sea of Tartary*, there could be little doubt that Deschnew might have gone wholly by sea from the *River Kolyma* to the *Anadir*. But admitting the fact of the harpoon with respect to Busch, it would fall short of proving that whales travel from the European seas to the seas of *Tartary*, as the Russians must be supposed long before the time of Busch, to have

have introduced there the use of European harping irons.

Busch sailed back in his vessel to *Ochotzk*. Other vessels were built both there and at *Kamtschatka*, and navigation in those seas has since made a gradual, not a rapid, progress. Among the early undertakings from *Ochotzk* was the examination of the *Schantarian Isles* which are near the entrance of the *River Ud*; with some hope of finding means of entering thence into commerce, or of obtaining intercourse, with the Japanese. Towards this they could not well contribute without establishing settlements on them. The largest Schantarian Island is described woody and abounding with the small animals called sables. To hunt these, a party of Russians wintered on the island; but in making their fires imprudently, or through negligence, the whole forest took fire and was consumed, which exterminated the sables.

1720. Expedition to the Kurili Islands.

In 1720 or 1721, an expedition in which Henry Busch went as pilot, sailed from *Ochotzk* to examine the *Kurili Isles*; and it is supposed that the commanders, Jevreinow and Luschin, had secret instructions to search for the *Kinsima* or *Golden Island* of the Japanese. At the fifth or sixth Island from the *Lopatka*, or South point of *Kamtschatka*, the vessels were, contrary to the advise of Busch, anchored on rocky ground, by which they lost four anchors, and were obliged to return to *Kamtschatka*.

CHAP. XI.

Willegin *and* Amossow *in the Icy Sea.* *The* Medviedskie Islands.

CHAP. XI.

1720.

THE lands in the *Icy Sea* again came in question. Iwan Willegin and Gregorei Sankin, two promyschleni, affirmed that in the month of November 1720, they had travelled northward over the ice from the River *Tschukotschia*, which is westward of the *Kolyma*; and that they arrived at land. Willegin, whose account is given, could not say whether it was an island or part of a continent. He saw neither inhabitant nor tree. The wind was strong and the atmosphere loaded with fog, therefore they could not venture to go inland to examine the country. They saw some old deserted huts, but could not judge by what people they had been inhabited. This land might be seen from the continent near the entrance of the river *Tschukotschia*, in clear weather; and it was said, that 'according to all 'appearance, it extended one way as far as to 'opposite the river *Jana*, and the other way, 'eastward of the *Kolyma*, to as far as the country 'where dwelt the Schelages, the original people 'of the land, as he, Willegin, had been told by 'a principal

Willegin to the Northern land.

The Schelages.

'a principal man of the Schelages named Kopai, 'to whose habitations he had made a voyage to 'collect tribute. Willegin added, that it would 'be vain to attempt to go in vessels by sea to the 'northern land, because of the ice with which 'the sea was covered.'

Willegin it seems succeeded in prevailing on Kopai, to pay, for the first time, tribute to the Russians.

Amossow. A Russian named Fedot Amossow, confiding in the reports of Willegin, but not coinciding with him in opinion, embarked with a troop of kossaks, in July 1724, on board a vessel, and set 1724. sail from the *Kolyma* for the land to the North, but he was barred by ice from proceeding in that direction, and obliged to alter his destination to sailing along the coast eastward, which brought him on the 7th of August, to the habitations of Kopai. Amossow reckoned these habitations to be 200 versts to the East of the entrance of the *Kolyma*, and noticed a small island in the sea at a short distance from where Kopai dwelt. Amossow also, obtained the tribute, but shortly after paying it, Kopai revolted and killed some of Amossow's men; 'which,' says M. Muller, 'is all we know of Kopai.'

Amossow returned to the *Kolyma*, and; in November, the same year, went in nartes over the sea, which was then frozen; of which journey he gave the following account:—He set out from the mouth of the *Kolyma* on the 3d of the month,

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and followed the coast of the continent westward to between the Rivers *Tschukotschia* and *Alaseia*, whence he took his departure northward, and came to an Island which he estimated to be distant from the continent as far as dogs with a sledge usually travel in a day. Amossow's journey probably occupied more time, as he complained of difficulties from the unevenness of the ice, and from the sea-salt with which it was covered, both owing to the wind being high when the sea began to freeze. He found at this land decayed huts, which had been built with drift wood, and covered with earth. He saw also rein-deer which fed here on moss. This land, he said, might be encompassed in a sledge drawn by dogs in one day. On it were high rocky mountains. Beyond, he saw two other islands, separated one from the other by a narrow strait, and quite as mountainous as the first. To these farther Islands, Amossow did not go, wanting provision for his dogs. He returned to the *Kolyma*, November the 23d.

Part of the foregoing description M. Muller received from Amossow himself, whom he saw and conversed with at *Jakutzk*; yet he has refused credit to either his written or verbal relation. 'There is reason to suspect,' says Muller, 'that the hope of obtaining a command, rather 'than the desire of making discoveries in these 'frightful regions, induced Amossow to revive 'the report of land in the *Frozen Sea*.' This was

was an opinion scarcely fair to entertain. It is some excuse, that at the time Muller wrote his history of these expeditions, the discoveries of Bartolomé de Fonte had been, and still were, the subject of much dispute, and the light in which Muller viewed that controversy, disposed him to be cautious in his admissions. The northern lands in the *Icy Sea* had scarcely been visible but by accident, and had in an extraordinary manner remained concealed from persons who had been sent purposely to ascertain whether or not they existed. In particular, Markow's seven days journey to the North, seemed a convincing refutation of a pretended discovery, and helped to confirm Muller in his disbelief. The land to which Amossow went however, it is pretty clear by the small distance from the continent and its small extent, was no other than one of the Islands now named *Medviedskie*, or the *Bear Islands*; and the others seen from it were part of the same groupe. What was seen by Willegin is more doubtful, from his description of the extent; and as to being seen from the continent, a mountainous land may be seen from another mountainous land at a very great distance. Nicolas de Lisle, who *composed* the well known chart of the discoveries of Admiral Bartolomé de Fonte, resided at *Petersburgh* some time before Muller published his history, and appears to have had access to all the papers which reached the Russian government concern-

CHAP. XI.

ing the discoveries made in *Siberia*. He adopted the account given by Willegin in its fullest latitude, laying down in his chart Willegin's northern land as a western extension of the American continent, and marking it as a place to which the Tschuktzki who would not submit to pay the tribute, retreated, to avoid the Russians. This ready adoption of N. de Lisle, as it was not necessary to the elucidation of the discoveries of de Fonte, nor at all connected with that subject, may be regarded as what he thought nearest the truth; and at the time he published his chart, was a more defensible opinion than the one adopted through the extreme scrupulousness of M. Muller; according to whose directions no land or indication of land to the North of the continent in the *Icy Sea*, was admitted in the Russian chart published in 1758, by the Academy at *Petersburgh*. Guillaume de Lisle, in an Atlas of much earlier date, *i. e.* of 1730, represented land North of the '*River Lena, ou se fait la pêche du Behemot, mais la navigation en est dificile.*'

CHAP. XII.

Voyage of Captain Vitus Bering *from* Kamtschatka *to the* North. *Description of the Siberian Charts at that time.*

CHAP. XII.

IN the latter part of the reign of Peter the Great, men of science in *Europe* seeing his attention directed to the eastern provinces of *Siberia*, expressed a wish that discovery should be made whether *Asia* and *America* were joined, or were separate continents. For the purpose of determining this interesting point, an expedition was planned at *Petersburgh*, by order of the Czar, who entered so warmly into the question, that he drew up instructions in his own hand-writing, and delivered them himself to Captain Vitus Bering, a Dane by birth, but engaged in the service of the Russian navy, and now appointed to command the eastern expedition. The Czar was desirous that the whole of the navigation along the North coast of *Asia* should, at the same time, be ascertained; towards which purpose, two vessels were ordered to sail from *Archangel* to the *Icy Sea*. This attempt was not successful; one of the vessels was hemmed in by the ice, and thereby disabled

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from advancing; and the other has never been heard of *.

1725. In January 1725, a few days only after delivering to Captain Bering his instructions, the Czar died. His orders respecting the Siberian expedition were confirmed by the Empress and Senate on the 5th of February. They were expressed under three heads, in the following words:

"I. To construct at *Kamtschatka*, or other "commodious place, one or two vessels.

"II. With them to examine the coasts to the "North and towards the East; to see whether "they were not contiguous with *America*, since "their end was not known.

"III. To see whether there was any harbour "belonging to Europeans in those parts. To "keep an exact journal of all that should be "discovered; with which the commander was "to return to *St. Petersburgh*." †

Captain Bering says in his journal, "I was "ordered in my instructions to inform myself, "among other matters, of the limits of *Siberia*, "and particularly if the eastern corner of *Siberia* "was separate from *America*; and I had liberty "to take at the Siberian towns as many artificers "and

* Introduction to *Histoire des Decouvertes faites par divers savans Voyageurs*. Lausanne, 1784.

† *Muller's Russian Discoveries*. Also in *Letter of a Russian Sea Officer*; printed in Vol. ii. of Strahlenberg's *Description of the Russian Empire*, p. 257.

"and others as I should find necessary to my "voyage." *.

Captain Bering departed from *Petersburgh* immediately on the confirmation of his orders. The officers and mariners who were to serve under him, with shipwrights and other artificers, had likewise to travel from *Petersburgh* to the farthest parts of *Siberia*. Their first journey was to *Jakutzk*, which is a distance not much short of 4,000 miles. From *Jakutzk* they had to travel to the port of *Ochotzk*, which is about 500 miles. Stores, provisions, and other materials, were likewise transported through *Siberia* for this expedition. It was proposed to build one vessel at *Ochotzk*, in which to transport the whole company and their stores to *Kamtschatka*, and there to build another vessel, it being judged expedient that the examination of the coast of *Asia* to the North-east should be made by two vessels in company. These were parts of the undertaking not to be accomplished without much time as well as labour; and it was late in the summer of 1728 before the voyage of discovery could be begun. 1728.

The vessel built at *Ochotzk* was named The Fortuna; the one built in *Kamtschatka* was named The Gabriel. Their tonnage is not mentioned; but it may be supposed they were of very

* *Relation du Voyage fait par le Capitaine Bering.* In Strahlenberg, Vol. 2. p. 264.

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very moderate size, the Gabriel being built after the model of packet-boats then used in the *Baltic*; and it is mentioned, that the vessel in which Captain Bering performed the voyage, went victualled with all necessary provisions for forty men for a year.

A very brief relation of this voyage, but which is an abridgement of the captain's own journal, is printed at the end of Du Halde's "China," and also as a supplement to Baron Strahlenberg's description of the Russian Empire, (edition of 1757). The following remarkable passage occurs in P. Du Halde: 'Not long ago, this great Prince '(the Czar Peter) who has always been em-'ployed in perfecting the arts and sciences, and 'who has in a manner created in his dominions 'a quite new nation, ordered Captain Bering to 'go as far as to *Kamtschatka*, in order to examine 'the frontiers of those countries which lay to 'the North-east, and to endeavour to discover 'whether, as some are of opinion, they joined 'to *North America*, or whether there could be 'found any passage by sea.'

All this shews, that neither intelligence nor credited report had then reached *Europe*, of a navigation having been performed round a North-east promontory of *Asia*.

The following is Captain Bering's own narrative of his northern voyage:—

Captain Bering's Narrative.

1728. July.

'On the 14th of July, 1728, we sailed from 'the

'the *River of Kamtschatka*, pursuing our voyage 'according to the instruction which his Im- 'perial Majesty had given me, written by him- 'self, after the manner shewn in my chart; 'that is to say, in tracing the eastern coast of '*Kamtschatka* towards the North.

'On the 8th of August we arrived in latitude August. '64° 30′ N, and eight men came rowing towards 64° 30′ N. 'us in a leathern boat, and demanded of us, 'whence we had come, and what our business 'was there. They told us, that themselves were 'called Tschuktzki, which is the name of a 'people known to the Russians who inhabit 'near that quarter. They were conversed with 'by means of a Korjak interpreter. At length, 'they sent a man to the ship, who came swim- 'ming upon seal-skins filled with wind; and 'shortly after, their boat came to our ship. They 'told us, that all the sea-coast was numerously 'peopled by the Tschuktzki, and that all the 'main land, at no great distance from us, ex- 'tended towards the West. They said that there 'was a small Island before us, to which we 'afterwards came; but we saw no people, al- 'though there was a building. We named it, '*The Isle of St. Lawrence.*

'The 15th of August, we arrived to latitude 67° 18′ N. '67° 18′; but we went no farther, because it 'appeared to me that I had fulfilled the instruc- 'tion which had been given me; for beyond we

'could

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1728.

Captain Bering's narrative of his northern voyage.

'could discern no land to the North, neither 'towards the East. And besides, if we had 'sailed farther, and had afterwards found a 'contrary wind, it would have been impos-'sible for us to have returned in this same 'summer to *Kamtschatka*; and it would have 'been hazarding too much to pass the winter 'in a country where is no wood, and in the 'middle of a people who are under no subjection 'or rule.

'From the entrance of the *River of Kamts-'chatka* to the part where we turned back, we 'remarked the coast to be elevated like high 'walls, with a long chain of mountains, which, 'winter and summer, were covered with snow. 'In our return, on the 20th of August, about 'forty men came to us in four boats. They 'were people of the same nation with those 'already mentioned. They brought meat, fish, 'and fresh water to barter with us, and two sorts 'of peltry, one of the white fox, and the other 'of the ordinary fox. They had also four pieces 'of the sea-horse teeth, which my people bought 'of them for needles and wrought iron. They 'told us, that people of their country went by 'land with merchandize, drawn by rein-deer, to 'the *River Kolyma*; but that they had never 'gone thither by sea; that they had heard of 'the Russians, and that some among them had 'traded at the *Anadirskoi Ostrog*. The 8th of 'September

'September we arrived in the *River of Kamts-* CHAP. XII.
'*chatka*, where we passed the winter.' 1728.

Captain Bering was fully persuaded, by seeing the coast of *Asia* at the most northern part of his discovery take a direction westward, that he had ascertained its separation from *America*; and his officers were of the same opinion. Neither in going to the northward, nor in the return southward, was the American coast seen by Captain Bering; so that in fact he passed between the two continents without knowing it to be a strait. Nicolas de Lisle says, that in Bering's voyage three small islands were seen very near the coast of *Asia*, which must have been the Islands in the *Strait*, and one of them the Island named by Captain Bering, *Saint Lawrence*, which is specified to be an Island to which he was to come after passing the latitude of 64°30′. Another Island has, I apprehend through mistake, been marked in the charts as the *Island Saint Lawrence*.

The opinions at that time entertained in *Siberia* respecting the geography of the North-east of *Asia*, appear from descriptions given by M. Muller, of maps which were made by persons resident in *Siberia*, which are to be regarded as derived from the best sources of information then existing; that is to say, traditional reports of the native inhabitants, the affirmations of living individuals;

individuals; and for the rest, it may be supposed, as much of the charts before existing as had not been contradicted by subsequent observation or information.

One of the charts noticed by Muller was made by a colonel of the Jakutzk Kossaks, named Afanassei Schestakow, and was published at *Petersburgh* in 1626. In it was placed an Island in the *Icy Sea*, opposite to the entrance of the *Kolyma*, two days journey distant from the continent; said to be inhabited by people of the Schelages, who would not submit to the Russians; and beyond this Island, two days journey farther to the North, was placed a coast, which he designated by the name of *The Large Country*. Schestakow and his chart, and indeed all that contributed to crediting the existence of lands in the *Icy Sea*, were treated with a degree of hostility by Muller, who unreasonably supposed the northern lands laid down by Schestakow to be no other than an exaggerated representation of the Island near the habitations of Kopai, as reported by Amossow. Muller describes Colonel Schestakow to have been an illiterate man who could neither write nor read, and a great pretender, '*qui avoit le don de la parole.*' Nevertheless, from what follows in Muller's own account, Schestakow appears to have been a man of good abilities, active and enterprizing. He is to be blamed for having proposed a plan, and for having offered his services

vices to the Russian government, to subdue and subjugate independent nations who had given the Russians no offeuce; but this was not a cause for blame M. Muller chose to point at. CHAP. XII.

A chart made by Iwan Lwaw, an inhabitant of *Jakutzk*, represented two promontories of the Tschuktzki country, the northern named the *Schelatzkoi*, not limited by a marked outline. Opposite to the southern promontory, which he named The *Anadirskoi Nos*, were placed two Islands, one more 'distant from the Tschuktzki land than the other, and with the following notice; 'It is half a day's voyage by sea to the 'first Island: it is inhabited by a people whom 'the Tschuktzki call Achjuchaliæt. From this 'Island they can go in two days to the other, 'which is inhabited by a people who by the 'Tschuktzki are called *Peckeli*.' Beyond these Islands was marked a large country, whose inhabitants, it is noticed, were by the Tschuktzki called *Kitschin Eljæt*, who were habited in skins, and used bows and arrows; and 'this *Great* 'Country was full of forests, and abounded in 'animals.' In the chart by Iwan Lwaw, the eastern part must be supposed to have been drawn according to information obtained from the Tschuktzki people.

Other charts are mentioned by M. Muller, which leave an unlimited blank for the *Schelatzkoi Nos*; and opposite to the *Nos* place an unlimited

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unlimited country, the inhabitants of which are in one chart called *Kykilkmeis.*

Bering's Chart.

Bering made a chart of his discoveries, a copy of which is published in Du Halde's China, and in D'Anville's China and Tartary Atlas. He re presents in it two Tschuktzki promontories, and names the southern of the two (past which he sailed himself) the *Tschuktzki Cape* or *Nos*; or rather, the name, as placed in his chart, applies to the most southern point of the Tschuktzki coast. The northern promontory he calls the *Scheleginski*, and has given it a clear marked limitation of coast, which has not been done in any other chart. A counterpart of this is, giving to the northern promontory a situation far westward of the other; claiming thereby, that his voyage had ascertained the eastern extremity of *Asia*; and consequently, the separation of *America* from *Asia.*

Muller did not believe the eastern land seen by Bering to be the most eastern point of *Asia.* He says, 'the western direction of the coast 'beyond the part at which Captain Bering ar- 'rived, is only the winding of a large bay; for 'the coast afterwards resumes a direction to 'the North and North-east, till, in the 70th 'degree or more of North latitude, the proper 'Tschuktzki *Nos* appears in form of a great 'peninsula; where, and not before, it may be 'said the two great parts of the world are not 'connected.'

'connected.' In accord with this opinion, was constructed the Petersburgh map of the Russian discoveries, published in 1758. Captain Bering and Professor Muller had each a system, in the main point of which they agreed. In representing two great promontories between the *Kolyma* and the *Anadir*, Muller followed fairly enough, and without exceeding, the general opinion at that time entertained;' and he has contented himself with marking a space for his northern promontory by a dotted line.

In these maps (Bering's excepted) is apparent, an acknowledged uncertainty of the extent of the Tschuktzki country northward; on which may be remarked, that if at any time it had been known or received as fact in *Siberia*, that Deschnew (a remarkable character) had, in the year 1648, passed wholly by sea round the Tschuktzki coast, it is not credible that a circumstance so extraordinary should have so speedily and entirely passed out of men's minds, as for no traces of it to have been discovered by the inquiries and examinations which were made, by order of the Russian government, about the year 1710; and that nothing of traditional report should have remained concerning it.

CHAP. XIII.

Plans and Expedition of Schestakow. *The Coast of* America *seen by* Krupischew *and* Gwosdew. Paulutzski's *march through the Country of the* Tschuktzki.

CHAP. XIII.

WHILST Captain Bering was on his northern expedition, Colonel Schestakow offered a plan to the Russian government, containing the following proposals:—

1st. To reduce the Tschuktzki people.

2d. To discover the extent of their country.

3d. To undertake the discovery of the land opposite the *Nos*; and,

4th. To examine the *Schantarian Isles.*

1727. Schestakow. Part of Schestakow's proposals corresponded with the plan of Bering's northern voyage; and in 1727, he was appointed to the command of a force to carry the whole into execution. To him was joined, but it seems with a separate or independent command, Dmitri Paulutzki, captain of a regiment of dragoons. The force placed under their command was 400 kossaks, in addition to which, they had authority to draw out and dispose of the kossaks that were in the different garrisons within the *Jakutzk* jurisdiction.

Whilst

Whilst they were collecting troops at *Jakutzk*, a disagreement happened between the two commanders, which ended in a separation, and a division of their force, each pursuing his own plan.

Colonel Schestakow, with his part, went to *Ochotzk*, where he found the vessels Gabriel and Fortuna, lately returned from Bering's expedition. He ordered a detachment under Iwan Schestakow, his relation, to embark on board the Gabriel, to examine the *Schantarian Isles*, and afterwards to proceed to *Kamtschatka*. The Colonel himself embarked, with the rest of his men in the Fortuna, and sailed for the *Gulf of Penschina*; but shortly after leaving *Ochotzk*, the Fortuna was driven on shore near the *Taviskoi Ostrog*, and many of the men perished. Schestakow procured a reinforcement from tribes of the Korjaki nation, and proceeded by land towards the *Penschina*. On the 14th of March, 1730, having arrived within two days journey of the river at the head of the *gulf*, he was met by an innumerable swarm of the Tschuktzki, who had marched thus far out of their own country to war against the Korjaki. Schestakow's whole force did not exceed 150 men; nevertheless, he determined on giving them battle. The issue was unfortunate to him and his party; for he was killed by an arrow, and his troops were routed. Those who fell not with him saved themselves by flight.

1730.

Falls in battle against the Tschutzki.

CHAP. XIII. 1730.

Three days previous to this event, Schestakow had dispatched a messenger to the *Tavishoi Ostrog*, with orders to a kossak officer there, named Tryphon Krupischew, to equip a vessel to sail round the *Lopatka*, or South point of *Kamtschatka*, and along the coast northward to the *Sea of Anadir*, and to the country of the Tschuktzki, which people he was to invite to pay tribute. To these directions he added, that if the surveyor, Gwosdew, chose to sail in this expedition, he was to be received on board, and to be treated with every kind of respect and accommodation.

Krupischew and Gwosdew.

On the receipt of these orders, Krupischew and the surveyor Gwosdew immediately put to sea, in a vessel which seems to have been built with the wreck of the Fortuna, or to have been that vessel repaired. They sailed round the *Lopatka* and to the North. M. Muller says of this navigation, 'In the year 1730, the 'geodesiste Gwosdew was on an unknown coast 'between the latitude of 65 and 66 degrees, 'opposite to, and at a small distance from the 'country of the Tschuktzki, where he found 'inhabitants, but could not discourse with them 'for the want of an interpreter.' Another account given of Krupischew's and Gwosdew's navigation (unless the Fortuna went two following summers to the Tschuktzki coast, which seems probable by the dates) is, that Captain Paulutzki arrived at the *Anadirsk Ostrog* in

Their discovery of the coast of America.

September

September 1730, and that about the same time, Krupischew and Gwosdew arrived there in the Fortuna. That Paulutski having received news of Schestakow's defeat, ordered Krupischew and Gwosdew to sail to the *River Kamtschatka*, to take on board provisions which remained there of what had been provided for Captain Bering's voyage, and with them to proceed to the Tschuktzki coast, where he expected they would find him. These orders were executed, M. de Lisle relates, in the summer of 1731, 'at which 'time they were on the Tschuktzki coast, 'where they supposed was the *Serdze Kamen* '(a rock so named from its shape having some 'resemblance to that of a heart); but they did 'not meet with Paulutzki, nor could they learn 'any tidings of him. They remained on the 'Tschuktzki coast till a gale of wind forced 'them from the point, which was the *ne plus* '*ultra* of Captain Bering in his first voyage; 'they then steered to the East, where they found 'an Island, and beyond it a land very large. As 'soon as they had sight of this land, a man came 'to them in a little boat like to those of the 'Greenlanders. They could only understand 'from him, that he was an inhabitant of a large 'country where were many animals and forests. 'The Russians followed the coast of this land 'two whole days to the southward without being 'able to approach it, when a storm came on,

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1730.

1731.

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'and they returned to *Kamtschatka**. By this 'navigation was completed the discovery of '*Bering's Strait.*'

Paulutzki.

Captain Paulutzki had collected a force of 215 Russians, and 220 men of the Korjaki and Jukagiri nations, with provision, for an expedition into the country of the Tschuktzki. They departed from the *Anadirsk Fort* on March the 12th, 1731, directing their route first towards North-east; afterwards to the East to beyond the source of a small river named the *Tscherna*, which runs into the *Anadir*; and thence they marched, M. Muller says, direct to the North, and at the end of two months, marching not more than ten versts in a day and halting at times, they came to the shore of the *Icy Sea*, near the entrance of a considerable river. Muller's description of Paulutzki's route, will not well agree with either the early or the modern charts. In the chart which accompanies his history, Paulutzki's route from the *Tscherna* to the shore of the *Icy Sea*, is drawn as much westward as NNW. From where they arrived at the *Icy Sea*, 'Paulutzki marched fifteen days towards 'the East, along the sea-coast, the greater part 'of the time upon the ice, and sometimes at so 'great a distance from the land that the mouths 'of the rivers were not discernible. At length, 'they met a large army of the Tschuktzki. 'Paulutzki

His route.

March 12th. 1731.

* *Memoire par M. de Lisle.* Also, *Lettre d'un Officier de la marine Russ*, in *Strahlenberg.* Vol 2. p. 260.

'Paulutzki summoned them to submit themselves 'to the Russian Empire. On their refusal, he 'attacked them, and they were defeated. This 'happened on the 7th of June.' They rested eight days after the battle, and then continued their march eastward. In the latter part of June, they passed two rivers which ran into the *Icy Sea* at the distance of a day's journey one from the other. Near the eastern of these rivers, on the last day of June, they had a second battle with the Tschuktzchi, the event of which was the same as in the former.

1731. June. Paulutzki's expedition.

They halted three days after the second battle, and afterwards advanced, Muller relates, directly towards the *Tschukotzkoi Nos* (meaning the north-eastern or Schelatzkoi promontory), with design to cross it, and to come to the eastern Sea, but they were again opposed by the Tschuktzki, 'who assembled from both seas.' A third battle was fought on July the 14th, which also ended in the defeat of the Tschuktzki, yet without advantage to the Russians; for the Tschuktzki would not submit, nor consent to pay tribute. The Russians lost nine men in the three battles. Among the slain of the defeated, was found one man whose upper lip was pierced through for the insertion of wrought pieces of sea-horse teeth.

July.

It is a curious instance of haughtiness, that the Russians in this war considered the Tschuktzki nation as rebels. The letter of the officer of the

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1731. Paulutzki's expedition.

Russian marine says, 'Paulutzki, a captain of 'infantry, and Schestakow, chief of the Jakutzk 'Kossaks, were charged to reduce to obedience 'the Tschuktzki, a people ferocious and obstinately rebellious to the authority of the Russians.' Among the spoils obtained by the Russians, were found some things which had belonged to Schestakow; on which Muller remarks, that the death of Schestakow was 'well 'avenged.' 'The Russians,' he adds, 'met no 'farther opposition, and marched triumphantly 'across the *Nos*.'

The Tschuktzki are as fine a natural sample of mankind as any on the face of this globe; they are not charged by Muller, with any act of treachery or criminality; and Schestakow and Paulutzki were sent into their country to subdue them. M. Muller therefore, a man of science and esteemed a philosopher, should not have joined in the song of triumph over a brave nation, justly defending their independence against usurping invaders. Let those who think and feel with him on such an occasion, take the case impartially and considerately to their own bosoms, and imagine their countrymen and their own particular homes to be, for their sins, visited by as great a scourge as the native inhabitants of the North-east of *Asia* have been; that is to say, by people who, like the Russians comparatively with the Tschuktzki, possessed a superiority (not mental or corporeal, but merely mechanical

chanical and learnt from other people), namely, the superiority of weapons that rendered resistance hopeless, and who were instigated by an appetite for plunder and dominion, unrestrained by principles of justice or moderation. Some may ask, why did they not, seeing the superior power of the Russians, quietly submit themselves? Experience, if they had possessed it, could not have more fortunately guided the Tschuktzki than did their sense of right. The native inhabitants of the Island *Porto Rico*, afraid of irritating the Spaniards by resistance, yielded wholly at discretion, and in a short time were all exterminated by hard slavery; and instances little less fatal will be seen of the result of patient submission to the dominion of the Eastern Russians.

Paulutzki and his men crossed from the coast of the *Icy Sea* to the eastern coast, not at a narrow part of the Tschuktzki territory, nor keeping sight of the sea. The country of the Schelages was on their left, and they had high mountains to climb, which made it ten days before they gained the eastern shore. Paulutzki then embarked part of his people in *baidares*, or boats made of whalebone covered with skins: with the rest he continued his march along the coast, in a South-east direction.

On the seventh day they came to the mouth of a river, and twelve days after to another, beyond which, at the distance of about ten versts, there ran into the sea far towards the East,

August.

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1731. Paulutzki's expedition.

a point or head of land, which at the beginning was mountainous, but gradually diminishing ended in a plain, the extent of which was not seen. This was believed to be the cape of land which induced Captain Bering to turn back. According to some accounts, among the mountains on this cape is one which by the people inhabiting near the *Anadir*, is called the *Serdze Kamen*. Sauer, however, places a *Serdze Kamen* on the northern coast of the *Bay of Anadir*.

Paulutzki ceased here to follow the sea coast, and turned inland for the *Anadirsk Fort*, at which he arrived on October the 21st.

Many prisoners were taken in this expedition, women as well as men, and carried away by the Russians. It has been related of the Tschuktzki men, that they preferred death to captivity. So it was with the women. Sauer, when in *Siberia*, was told that on Paulutzki's return from his first expedition against the Tschuktzki, the *Neizshni Ostrog* was full of women prisoners. Many were released; some Paulutzki attempted to transport to *Russia*, but every one so sent died on the road*.

Paulutzki's march is not related here merely as an hostile expedition. It appears to have been his intention to fulfil all that had been proposed by Schestakow. His march to the shore of the *Icy Sea*, and eastward along the coast of that

* *Sauer's Account of the Expeditions of Captain Joseph Billings*. p. 95. London, 1802.

Paulutzki's expedition.

that sea, sometimes upon the ice, for a full month, must have been with intention to discover the full extent and limits of the Tschuktzki country; but after a march of nearly four months in prosecution of this object, and having had three engagements with the Tschuktzki, finding the coast of the *Icy Sea* to take a northern direction farther than he was able to judge, and the native inhabitants still making head against him, it may be concluded that he was obliged by necessity to relinquish the farther prosecution of this discovery.

Mr. Coxe relates that Paulutzki was killed in a subsequent expedition against the Tschuktzki, in or about the year 1750. M. Muller, on the contrary, says that he died at *Jakutzk*, being woewode or governor there.

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Plan formed at Petersburgh *for the prosecution of Eastern Discovery. Wreck of a Japanese vessel. Attempts towards completing the navigation from* Archangel *to* Kamtschatka.

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THE voyage of Krupischew and Gwosdew was learnt with interest in *Europe*, as it seemed to solve a long agitated question respecting the peopling of *America*. Considerations of a different nature made the proximity of *America* to *Asia* be regarded by the Russian government as an important discovery. Vitus Bering and the officers who had served in his northern voyage, were advanced in rank, and a variety of new plans were formed for expeditions by sea. The Petersburgh Academy of Sciences was consulted, at whose recommendation several men eminent for knowledge and attainments in science, were engaged to go into *Siberia* and to *Kamtschatka*, to examine the countries, and to collect information. The principal persons thus engaged, had every one his peculiar department of research assigned to him by the Academy, and collectively they have been distinguished by the title of *le Societé des Savans*. Professor Gerhard Frederick Muller

Muller was one of this *corps*; and the province undertaken by him, was to write a civil history of *Siberia*, to describe the manners and customs of the inhabitants, to search for and examine records, to describe the antiquities, and also, to write a history of the expeditions which should be undertaken.

On the last-mentioned particular of the department assigned to M. Muller is to be remarked, that accounts of voyages and travels are never so satisfactorily authentic when related by another person as when related by the traveller himself. His descriptions are regarded to be, and in general are, more natural and faithful than when passed under the correction of another. Supposing him illiterate, it is not worth obtaining an amendment of style at the risk of having the first impressions made by new objects, lessened or rejected by an editor who did not witness them.

In the spring of 1733, the sea officers appointed for the eastern expeditions, set forward from *Petersburgh* for their different destinations. One of the objects assigned to navigation was to verify all former discoveries which had been made on the coasts of what was considered the Russian dominions; and if possible, to ascertain an entire navigation from *Archangel* to *Kamtschatka*. Towards this purpose, equipments were ordered to be made at different ports on the coast of the *Icy Sea*. Another object, the execution of which

Commodore

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Commodore Bering himself was to undertake, was to discover how far the coast of *America* lay to the East from *Kamtschatka* in that parallel.

Japanese vessel wrecked on the coast of Kamtschatka.

At this time, two natives of *Japan* were brought to *Petersburgh*, which happened from the following extraordinary circumstance. A Japanese vessel sailing from *Satzuma* laden with silks, cottons, rice, and paper, bound for *Ozaka*, both of which ports are in the southern coast of *Japan*, were forced by a long continuance of tempestuous weather, to a distance from the land, and out of all knowledge of their situation. It is probable that currents carried them to the eastward of the south-east Cape of *Japan* without their suspecting it, and that they afterwards sailed to the North, and continued long on that course, in expectation that it would bring them again in sight of their country. After wandering about on the sea, it is said some months, they were at length driven on shore on the outer (*i. e.* eastern) coast of *Kamtschatka*, a small distance to the South of the *Bay of Awatchka*, and their vessel was there wrecked, but the crew got to land, and saved some of the most valuable part of the cargo. A troop of Kossaks stationed near the spot, came to the wreck. The Japanese Captain, or the owners of the cargo, thought to conciliate the good will of the Commander of the Kossaks, by making him presents, which was done, but not equal to the expectations of the Kossak, and it is probable that less than all that

was

was saved would not have satisfied him. But without shewing his discontent, he and his men pretended to depart from the place, instead of which, they kept themselves concealed in the neighbourhood, and watching their opportunity, fell upon the Japanese by surprize, and murdered seventeen out of nineteen, their whole number. The two who were spared, the Kossak commander carried to the *Upper Kamtschatka Ostrog*. One of them was an old man; the other, a boy about eleven years of age. This deed was not allowed to pass with impunity. The Kossak officer was brought to trial, and suffered the punishment of the knowt. The two Japanese were sent to *Jakutzk*, thence to *Tobolsk*, and in the year 1732, to *Petersburgh*. This affair drew the attention of the Academy towards *Japan*, intercourse with which country was an object much desired by the Russian government. The Russians had met people of *Japan* among the *Kurili Islands*, but the exact situation of *Japan* with respect to *Kamtschatka* was not known. On these accounts, among the enterprizes then planned, was set down a voyage to *Japan*.

Other instances are met with of Japanese vessels being cast on the coast of *Kamtschatka*, and Bell, in his travels, mentions that in 1714 or 1715, he saw at *Petersburgh* a native of *Japan*, who had been one of the crew of a Japanese vessel so wrecked. The inhabitants of *Yesso* and of the northern parts of *Japan*, were accustomed to

send

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send vessels to the southern parts of the *Kamtschatka Peninsula*, to load there with a metallic earth, which they used in their potteries.

Of the many expeditions projected, those intended to trace the coasts of the *Icy Sea*, were the first put in motion. These in the very outset might be pronounced peculiarly unfortunate to the persons engaged in them, being regarded with less expectation, with less interest and attracting less notice, at the same time that they required more arduous exertion, and exposed those employed in them to greater perils and hardships, than any of the expeditions proposed to be undertaken from *Kamtschatka*.

Examination of the northern Coast of Europe and Asia.

The examination of the northern coasts, was judiciously portioned into three divisions. The first was from *Archangel* to the entrance of the *River Jenisei*. The second division of coast was between the entrances of the rivers *Jenisei* and *Lena*. The third, 'from the *Lena* eastward to 'find a way by sea to *Kamtschatka*.'

The first portion of coast was subdivided. Lieutenant Murawiew was ordered to trace from *Archangel* to the *Ob*, at the same time that from the *Ob* to the *Jenisei* was to be attempted by Lieutenant Owzin. Commerce had long been carried on from the ports of the *White Sea*, with the people inhabiting near the *River Ob*; but in these voyages it was not customary to go farther by sea than to the eastern shore of the *Sea of Kara*. The remainder of the route was performed by

by ascending a river, from the upper part of which, the boats and goods were transported by land over a short porterage or carrying place to a lake, whence another river, named the *Tylowka*, conveyed them to the *Obskaia Gulf*. Murawiew began his voyage in the summer of 1734, but could not pass the *Waigatz* that year for ice. The next year he sailed through the *Waigatz*, but did not get beyond the *Sea* of *Kara*. The navigation was continued by Lieutenants Malygin and Skuratow, who doubled the cape, M. Muller says, 'called by the Samoyedes, *Jalmal*, in latitude 73° N.' and at length, in 1738, entered the Gulf of the *Ob*.

From Archangel to the Ob.

1734.

1735.

Cape Jalmal. 1738.

During the same time, and in much the same manner, the navigation from the *River Ob* to the *Jenisei* was performed. Lieutenant Owzin departed from the *Ob* in 1735, in a vessel called a double shallop, 70 feet in length and 15 in breadth, which small proportion of breadth was thought favourable for making way among loose pieces of floating ice. But either owing to the badness of her performance, or to the unfavourableness of the seasons, on the third summer it was found necessary to send another vessel, which was commanded by the shipmaster, Iwan Koschelew, to the assistance of Owzin, and in 1738, they accomplished 'the doubling of the *Cape Matsol*,' and without farther obstacle entered the *River Jenisei*. And thus heavily, with great difficulty, and in joints, was effected the navigation

Navigation from the Ob to the Jenisei.

1738.

Cape Matsol.

tion

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tion from *Archangel* to the *Jenisei*, the first division of the coast.

Between the entrances of the *Rivers Jenisei* and *Lena* (the second division of coast), is included the most northern continental land known, and on account of the difficulties expected, the navigation was ordered to be attempted both ways. Of the attempt from the *Jenisei*, it is sufficient to say, that it wholly failed. The history of the expedition undertaken for this purpose from the *Lena*, is as follows:

1735. Prontschischew, his attempt to navigate from the Lena to the Jenisei.

June the 27th, 1735, Lieutenant Wasili Prontschischew departed from *Jakutzk* in a double shallop, named the *Jakutzk*, purposely built for this service. The sea was full of ice, and he could not proceed in that summer beyond the river *Olenek*. Some versts within the entrance, was a Russian village, and there he passed the winter.

1736. In the following summer, he passed the entrances of the rivers *Anabara* and *Chatanga*, and came to a range of Islands which extended from near the continent far towards the NW. Between these Islands was filled up with ice, leaving no opening for a passage. Prontschischew hoped that to the North, beyond where the land terminated, he should find a free and open sea; but after sailing as far as to latitude 77° 25′, his farther progress was stopped by ice not penetrable, which obliged him to return to the *River Olenek*, where he arrived in a bad state of health, and

and grieved at his disappointment. In a few hours after arriving in the *Olenek* he died; and his wife, who had borne him company in this expedition, survived his loss a very short time. He was esteemed an able officer, and they were both much regretted.

1738. Coast round the Taimura traced by land.

In 1738, Lieutenant Chariton Laptiew was sent from *Petersburgh* to supply the place of the Lieutenant deceased, with orders, that if he could not sail round the land, he should endeavour to trace and describe the coast by travelling along the shore. 'This he did, and it was the 'principal advantage drawn from his voyage; for 'by sea he met with the same obstacles which 'had obliged Lieutenant Prontschischew to turn 'back.' * The result of the attempts to navigate from the *Jenisei* to the *Lena* has been, compleating the geography of the coast between those rivers, without being able to accomplish the navigation. The *Taimura*, the most northern promontory, is laid down in the Petersburgh chart, in latitude 78° N.

Taimura Promontory.

From the Lena eastward. 1734-9.

The expeditions made for tracing the third or eastern division of coast, were productive of no advantage; but they were attended with circumstances of distress and calamity too extraordinary to be passed unnoticed. As in the western divisions, the navigation from the *Lena* eastward was attempted in one of the heavy framed vessels called double

* *Découvertes faites par les Russes.* Vol. II. p. 190.

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From the Lena Eastward.

double shallops, and the experiment shewed yet more than in the instances already related, that they are not so well adapted for the *Icy Sea* as vessels of light construction. From an ill-judged piece of formality, the Russian Admiralty would not suffer former discoveries to contribute towards their present undertaking, and ordered the navigation of the eastern division of the coast to be begun from the *Lena*. Between the *Lena* and the *Kolyma* verification was not necessary, the navigation having been in constant and customary practice nearly a century.

1735. In 1735, on the 30th of June, the double shallop named the Irkutzk, manned with 52 men, and commanded by Lieutenant Lassenius, sailed from *Jakutzk*. Ice, fogs, and other impediments, induced him toward the end of August to put into a small river between the Rivers *Lena* and *Jana*, where he built huts for passing the winter, and sent six of his men to *Jakutzk* with dispatches to inform the Commander of his situation. During the winter, he and his men were attacked by the scurvy in so dreadful a manner, that of 46 persons composing the company, 37 died. Under the endurance of this misery, the men rose against Lassenius, whom they accused of misconduct, and displaced from his command, an account of which proceeding they sent to *Jakutzk*. Commodore Bering, who was then at *Jakutzk*, on receiving their account, dispatched a pilot and fourteen fresh men to take charge of the vessel, with an

an order for Lassenius and his accusers to repair to *Jakutzk* that their conduct might undergo enquiry. The pilot arrived at the vessel with the order on June 9th, 1736, and found there the the accusers and the accused all dead. CHAP. XIV. From the Lena eastward.

Lieutenant Dmitri Laptiew was sent from *Jakutzk* to take the command of the vessel, having with him more men, and orders to proceed in the navigation eastward. The summer of 1736 was not favourable; and instead of making progress eastward, he found it necessary to return to the *Lena*, near the entrance of which he took up his winter quarters. The scurvy attacked the crew; but they found relief by drinking a decoction of the leaves or points of dwarf cedars, which grew there, and by a diet of frozen fish, scraped small and eaten raw. With this food, and constant exercise, the health of the men was preserved. Lieutenant Dmitri Laptiew. 1736.

The Supreme Senate, or College of the Admiralty at *Petersburgh*, had directed, that if a first voyage for the discovery of the navigation eastward from the *Lena* did not succeed, a second should be undertaken; and if the second failed, that the officer who had been employed should be ordered to repair to *Petersburgh*, to give account of his expedition. Two voyages had been made from the *Lena*, and they had both failed, but only one of them had been made by Dmitri Laptiew. This occasioned some demur. He was, however, sent to *Petersburgh*,

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From the Lena eastward.

and after rendering his account, was ordered back to renew the attempt of the eastern navigation. On July the 29th, 1739, he again put to sea in the same double shallop as before, and also from the same ill chosen place of departure, the *River Lena*. At the end of August he had advanced as far as the *Indigirka*, and would have entered one of the branches of that river, but did not find sufficient depth of water. On the 1st of September, his vessel was enclosed by ice. Soon after, a tempest broke up the ice and disengaged her; but she was driven farther out to sea, and on the 9th of September was again frozen in, at the distance of 60 versts from the continent. The winter now decidedly set set in; and the only resource for him and his crew was, to abandon the vessel, and to transport over the ice to the land, themselves and as much of the provisions and stores as they were able. Laptiew and his men passed the winter on the *Indigirka*, and in the ensuing summer made their way along the coast, in small boats, to the *Kolyma*. The expenditure of means and loss of men in the verification of this part of the eastern navigation, left the Lieutenant, Dmitri Laptiew, with little power, to prosecute the discovery farther eastward, himself and his men already harassed and half worn out with the loss of their vessel and passing two winters in temporary huts on the sea-coast. His orders prescribed, that if obstacles should be met with

to

to prevent proceeding by sea, he was to follow the coast by land; but the country of the Tschuktzki was not to be so travelled round by a small party, and he was excused attempting the execution of this part of the orders.

Gmelin mentions, that Laptiew went in small vessels as far as to the *River Kolyma*, and thence, 'partly by land, partly by water, to the '*Anádirskoi Ostrog*; that he described the whole 'coast so far, and finished his navigation in '1740.'* This passage, which has somewhat of ambiguity in it, is commented upon in a work entitled, *Memoires et Observations Geographiques et Critiques sur la Situation des Pays Septentrionaux*; par Mr. * * *, published at *Lausanne* in 1765. This author was of opinion that Laptiew went round by the sea-coast from the *Kolyma* to the *Anádir*. It being said that he described the coast so far, seems to bear that meaning. Supposing such to have been the fact, his having gone partly by land and partly by water would resemble the voyage of Taras Staduchin. The same author relates the following anecdote: 'M. Gmelin 'being on his journey to return to *Tubingen*, 'stopped at the house of an old friend of his, 'who is also a friend of mine, and one of the 'most celebrated *savans* in *Europe*. My friend 'had

* So viel ist gewiss, dass der Herr Lieutenant eine reise bis an den Kolyma in Kleinen fahrzeugen, und weiter hin theils zu lande, theils zu wasser bis Amadyzkoi Ostrog fortgeseht, die ganze Küste bis dahin beschrieben, und 1740 seine schiffarth geendigt habe. *Gmelin Reise*. Vol. II. 440.

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'had advertised me, some time before, that he 'expected this visit; and, to profit by the op- 'portunity, I requested he would propose certain 'questions to M. Gmelin; and, among others, 'some concerning the voyage of Laptiew. He 'did so; and gave me to understand, that Gmelin 'had acknowledged to him, but with much ap- 'prehension, and under promise of the most 'perfect secrecy, that Laptiew had arrived by 'water (*'s'etoit rendu par eau'*) to the mouth 'of the Anadir.'*

The author of the "Memoires" imputes to the Russian Admiralty or Government great reserve on the subject of their North-eastern discoveries, and particularly in regard to this supposed navigation round the Tschuktzki coast. Instructions given for some of their later expeditions sent to examine the Tschuktzki coast (which have been published), in which the Russian Admiralty was particularly attentive to furnish the commanders with all the information previously obtained, make no mention of the coast to the East of the *Kolyma* having been seen by Laptiew.

Muller says, 'Laptiew went from the *Kolyma* by land to the *Anadirsk Fort*, and thence to the entrance of the *River Anadir*, which was the termination of his voyage.'

That

* *Memoires et Observ. Geogr.* &c. p. 43. It does not appear in the catalogues or *bibliotheques des ouvrages anonymes*, who was the author of these memoires on the situations of northern lands. The book is dedicated to Frederic the Vth, King of Denmark and Norway.

That Laptiew, who was ordered to endeavour to examine the coast from the *Lena* round to *Kamtschatka*, should go by land from the *Kolyma* to the *Anadirsk Fort*, may be easily accounted for. He was under the orders of Commodore Bering; he had lost his vessel, and was unprovided for farther undertaking in the *Icy Sea*; the Commodore was then in the Sea of *Kamtschatka*, and Laptiew's journey to the *Anadir* was most probably for the purpose of joining his commanding officer, the travelling partly by water meaning partly on rivers. The coast said to be described by Laptiew can only have been from the *Lena* to the *Kolyma*.

This was the last of a series of expeditions planned solely with the view of determining the northern and north-eastern limits of the old continent; in which many hardy and adventurous men unfortunately perished, partly through the rigor of the climate, and in some degree through the want of better arrangement in the plans. The most material information gained, was of the extent of the *Taimura promontory*.

About this time, a Russian built vessel was found cast on shore on the South coast of *Spitzbergen*, without any person on board. The vessel was not damaged, and had provisions in her; whence the author above cited conjectures, that she was one of those employed on the northern discovery, which had been enclosed by ice, and had therefore been abandoned.

CHAP. XV.

Voyage of Spangberg *and* Walton *to* Japan.

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CAPTAIN Martin Spangberg, who had sailed as Lieutenant with Captain Bering to the North, was appointed to command the Japan expedition; but previous to his sailing for *Japan* (in 1738) he made a short voyage to examine the northern *Kurili* Islands, and afterwards wintered in the River *Bolschaia-Reka* of *Kamtschatka*.

1738. To the Kurili Islands.

1739. Voyage to Japan.

In 1739, the expedition to *Japan* took place, the principal purpose of which was to ascertain the exact situation of *Japan* with respect to *Kamtschatka*. On the 22d of May, Captain Spangberg sailed from *Kamtschatka*, in a vessel named The Saint Michael of Archangel; and, by appointment, was joined at the first *Kurili Island* by a double shallop, commanded by Lieutenant William Walton; by the old vessel, the Gabriel, commanded by Midshipman Scheltinga; and by a small yacht, making in the whole four vessels. They left the northern *Kurile* on June the 1st, steering first to the South-east, to try if they could discover land in that direction. In latitude 47°, not having found any land, they changed their course towards the South-west,

May.

June.

South-west, which brought them in sight of some of the southern *Kurili Islands*. On the 14th, by tempestuous and thick weather, Walton was separated from Spangberg. They sought each other two days, firing cannon, but did not meet; and each, separately, made the voyage to *Japan*; Schelting'a being in company with Captain Spangberg. Muller relates,

Spangberg, on the coast of Japan.

'Captain Spangberg anchored near the coast 'of *Japan* on the 18th of June, in latitude '38° 41′ N. A multitude of Japanese vessels 'were sailing along the coast, and many villages 'were seen, also a well cultivated country. 'Signs of invitation were made to the people in 'two small Japanese boats, who, in return, made 'signs for the Russians to go on shore. Spang-'berg was distrustful, and thought it not prudent 'to stay long at one part of the coast; he there-'fore took up his anchor, and kept sometimes at 'a greater, sometimes at a less distance from the 'land, according to his opinion of the safety or 'danger. On the 20th, many Japanese vessels 'were in sight, the greater part of them having 'from ten to twelve men each. The 22d, he 'anchored in 38°.25′ latitude, and two fishing-'boats went alongside his ship, and exchanged 'fish, rice, tobacco in large leaves, preserved 'cucumbers, and other small articles, for such 'things as the Russians had to give in return. 'They most valued cloth garments, and necklaces 'of blue glass beads. Cottons, silks, looking-

'glasses,

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1739. June. Spangberg on the coast of Japan.

'glasses, needles, and cutlery, they held cheap, 'having those things among themselves. They 'were civil and reasonable in their dealings. 'They had square pieces of gold coin, similar 'to some which Kæmpfer has described, the 'gold more pale than that of the Holland ducat, 'and they weighed two grains less.

'The next day, 79 fishing-boats were counted 'near Spangberg's vessel. They were all built 'flat at the stern, and sharp in the fore-part; 'their dimensions were about 24 feet in length, 'and four and a half or five feet in breadth. 'In the middle was a platform, on which was 'a small fire-place. When there was no occasion 'to use the rudder, it could be taken in. Some of 'the boats had two rudders, one at each corner of 'the stern. They rowed standing, and had grap- 'lins which had four claws. It was remarked, 'that instead of iron, for nails and other work, as 'in our vessels, the Japanese had brass or copper.

'They have other kind of vessels for their 'commerce with the Islands and for more distant 'voyages, much larger than those above de- 'scribed, pointed at the stern as well as at the 'prow; good sailers with a fair wind, but easily 'carried away from their intended route by a 'contrary wind or tempestuous weather.

'The Japanese are in general of short stature, 'of brown complexion, with black eyes and the 'nose flat. The men had the fore-part of the 'head shaved; but young boys were shaved 'only

'only a small space on the crown of the head, 'an inch and a half or two inches square, as 'if inverting the Mahometan custum. Their 'clothes were long and full, like the European 'night-gowns. They did not wear breeches, but 'a wrapper of linen round the lower part of the 'body.

'There came to Captain Spangberg's vessel 'a large boat, in which, besides the rowers, were 'four men in embroidered habits, who appeared 'like persons of distinction. The Captain in-'vited them into his cabin. On entering, they 'bowed low with their hands joined over their 'heads, and remained in that attitude till the 'Captain desired them to rise. Victuals and 'brandy, with which they were entertained, 'appeared to be to their liking. The Captain 'made them a present of a sea-chart and a globe, 'both which they comprehended, and readily 'pointed to their own country, which they called '*Niphon*. They also pointed out the Islands '*Matsmai* and *Sado*, and the Capes *Songar* and '*Noto*. At taking leave, they bowed, as at 'their entrance, and expressed themselves thank-'ful for their entertainment.

'Captain Spangberg believed he had accom-'plished the principal purpose for which he had 'been sent, which was, to ascertain the position 'of *Japan* with respect to *Kamtschatka*. He, 'therefore, at the end of a few days, set sail to 'return.'

He

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He steered to the North-east, and on the 3d of July arrived before a great Island in latitude 48° 50′ N. at which he anchored, and took fresh water. This land was woody and inhabited, but the inhabitants kept at a distance. They had leathern boots, made after the manner of those of the Kurili islanders, and of the Kamtschadales. Spangberg anchored at another part of this land, near a village, where he had intercourse with the inhabitants. 'They spoke 'the language of the Kurili islanders, but differed 'from them in having hair something long over 'their whole body. Some of them had silver 'rings in their ears. On seeing a cock on board, 'they fell on their knees and bowed down before 'it with their hands over their head.' From hence they sailed to the SW. to the Island *Matsmai*, where, seeing three great Japanese ships, Captain Spangberg did not anchor or send any boat on shore, but directed his course for *Kamtschatka*, and anchored at the entrance of the *Bolschaia-reka* or *Great River*, on August the 13th.

July. At the land of Yesso.

June. Walton on the coast of Japan. 16th.

Lieutenant Walton, after his separation from Spanberg, sailed on for the land of *Japan*, which he came in sight of on the 16th of June, in latitude 38° 17′ N, and in longitude, by his reckoning 11° 45′ to the west of the northernmost *Kurili Island*; which agrees nearly with the present charts.

17th. Walton coasted the land to the South. On the

the 17th, he saw thirty-nine vessels, as large as gallies, sail out from a harbour, but they soon separated in different directions. Their sails were of cotton, some blue, some white, and cut straight. Lieutenant Walton followed one of them in hopes of thereby arriving at a port, which happened, and he cast anchor, in 30 fathoms depth, before a large town or city. On the 19th, a Japanese vessel, in which were eighteen men, approached the Russian vessel, and with great civility by signs invited the Russians to land. Walton upon this invitation sent a boat on shore with Kasimerow, his second pilot, a quarter-master and six seamen; two empty water-casks were put in the boat to be filled, and Kasimerow was furnished with some articles to bestow as presents. The shore was lined with boats of the Japanese, and crowded with spectators. The pilot, the quarter-master, and four of the men landed; and some of the inhabitants, with every mark of good-will, took the empty casks out of the boat, filled them with fresh water, and replaced them.

CHAP. XV. 1739. June. Walton on the coast of Japan. 19th.

This town was estimated to contain about 1,500 houses, as many of them stone as wood; and it occupied an extent of nearly two English miles along the shore. 'Kasimerow, and the 'people with him, entered a house. The master 'of the house received them at the door with 'much politeness, shewed them to a room, and 'presented them refreshments of wine, raisins,

'apples,

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1739. June. Walton on the coast of Japan.

'apples, oranges, and sweet-meats, in vessels of 'porcelain. From this house they went to 'another, where the like entertainment, and 'dressed rice, was set before them. Kasimerow 'in return made presents to his hosts, and to 'those who had taken care of his casks, of glass 'necklaces and other things. They afterwards 'walked about the town. Every thing appeared 'neat and well ordered. There were many 'shops in which cloths of cotton were principally 'sold; none were observed of silk, but there 'was not time for much examination. They saw 'every where, horses, cattle, and poultry; and 'the country round was cultivated with grain 'and pease.'

'When Kasimerow returned to the water side, 'two Japanese with sabres in their hands were 'standing near his boat. One of them had two 'sabres. This appeared to him suspicious, and he 'hastened back to the ship.' [No molestation or interference in any matter appears to have been offered by the Japanese officers, as these men with sabres doubtless were.] 'More than a 'hundred boats, many of them with not less 'than fifteen men, followed to take a closer view 'of the ship. In one of the Japanese boats was 'a man of distinction, who made his people 'throw the end of a line into the Russian boat 'to tow him to the ship. He was dressed in 'habits of fine silk, and the respect shewn to him 'by his attendants, made the Russians conjec-

'ture

'ture he was the governor of the place. He 'made Lieutenant Walton a present of a vase 'filled with wine, which the Lieutenant carried 'to *Ochotzk*. The wine was of a deep brown 'colour, of good strength, and of agreeable 'flavour, although a little acid. It probably 'suffered by being kept longer than customary, 'and by the heat of the weather. The Lieutenant 'entertained and made presents to his guests. 'In the mean time a small commerce was carried 'on between the Russian crew on deck, and the 'Japanese boatmen. Whatever the Russians 'had of clothing, however old, was prized by 'the Japanese, who paid in their brass or copper 'money, which was pierced through the middle 'and strung. At length his guest took leave, 'much contented with his reception. The num- 'ber of boats round the ship however continually 'increased, and Walton thought it prudent to 'take up his anchor and stand off to sea, which 'he did, after firing a cannon by way of salute.'

Walton sailed along the East side of *Japan* as far South as to latitude 33° 48′. He stopped at other parts of the coast, and found the Japanese every where desirous of intercourse with the Russians, taking their empty casks on shore and returning them filled with fresh water. They shewed a written paper, which the Russians conjectured to be an order directing them to give assistance to strangers. Soundings were found along the coast, and anchorage at different parts, but

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but not always good; and it is remarked that every where the coast was rugged and full of rocks.

June.

On the 23d of June, a man who had a sabre at his side and a pistol in his hand, came in a boat from the shore, and interdicted all the Japanese from having farther commerce with the strangers.

From the coast of *Japan*, Walton sailed some distance to the East, but discovered no land in that direction; towards the end of July he returned to *Kamtschatka*, and afterwards to

August.

Ochotzk, where he arrived on August the 21st.

The navigation of Spangberg and Walton, above related, was the first in which a Russian track crossed the track of any other European in the *South Sea.*

The Japan voyage gave much satisfaction at *Petersburgh*, and leave was granted to Captain Spangberg to return there; but shortly after his obtaining it, the Russian Admiralty discovered that the charts in common use, placed *Japan* and *Kamtschatka* nearly under the same meridian, whence a doubt arose whether the land which the Captains Spangberg and Walton had visited, might not be *Korea*, and that they had not seen *Japan.* Spangberg was on the road to *Petersburgh* when he was met by an express, with an order for him to return to *Ochotzk*, to undertake another voyage to clear up this doubt. He accordingly returned to *Ochotzk*, but the season most

most favourable for such a voyage was gone by, and the vessel in which he had lately sailed had been sent to *Kamtschatka*. Another was built, in which, in the summer of 1741, Spangberg put to sea, but a number of unforeseen accidents, the first of which was the new vessel proving leaky, prevented his verifying his former discovery. He sent Scheltinga to examine the entrance of the river *Amur*; but this also failed.

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Voyage of Commodore Bering *and Captain* Tschirikow *to* America. *Of the* Aleutian *and* Fox Islands.

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THE building and equipment of Spangberg's ship exhausted the magazines at *Ochotzk*, and occasioned delay to the expedition intended to the coast of *America*. Two stout ships had been built at *Ochotzk* for this voyage; M. Muller calls them packet-boats, but the smallest of the two had a crew of 70 men. Commodore Bering embarked on board one of them, named The Saint Paul; the other was named The Saint Peter, and was commanded by Alexei Tschirikow, who had been one of Bering's Lieutenants in the northern voyage.

1740. They left *Ochotzk* in September 1740, and went to the *Bolschaia-reka*, proposing to winter there, but the depth of water at the entrance of the river was not sufficient to admit the ships, on which account, the Commodore sailed for the *Bay of Awatchka*. In this navigation, the passage between the South point of *Kamtschatka* and the first *Kurili* Island is described. The strait

Passage between the Lopatka and the first Kurili Island.

strait was estimated to be a German mile and a half across. Nearly in the middle is a ridge of rocks, over which the sea rolls. There is a navigable passage on either side; the southern is the broadest and was reckoned the preferable. They had a favourable gale; but the flood-tide ran strong from the East, and during an hour the Commodore's ship made not the least progress, and there was so rough a sea, that a boat which was towing astern was several times dashed against the ship, and once nearly thrown into her. The account says, 'we had from ten to 'twelve fathoms depth, but when the ship 'plunged in the hollow of the waves, she was 'scarcely three fathoms from the ground.' As the strength of the tide abated, the ship advanced. Tschirikow's ship arrived in the *strait* an hour and a half later than the Commodore's, and passed through without difficulty.

The two ships wintered in *Awatchka Bay*, and on the 4th of June 1741, sailed to discover the American coast. George Wilhelm Steller, physician and naturalist, and Louis de L'Isle de la Croyere, astronomer, embarked with the Commodore in this voyage. 1741. Voyage of Bering and Tschirikow to the coast of America. June.

The course was directed first to the SSE. to search for land laid down in the chart of Teixera, the Portuguese geographer (a copy of which is in Thevenot, *partie seconde*), and said to have been seen by a Dom Joaõ da Gama, in sailing from *China* to *New Spain*. On the 12th, they were in

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latitude 46° N, and not finding the expected land, the Commodore directed the course North-eastward to the latitude 50° N. and then due East. On the 20th, the two ships were separated by bad weather.

The ships separated.

Proceedings of the Commodore.

The Commodore cruised some days near the spot where they had been separated, in hopes of rejoining Tschirikow, but in vain, and at length pursued his route singly towards *America*, steering a more northerly course than before. On July the 15th, according to Steller, they made the land of *America*, 'not distinct enough to 'make a drawing; but the next day it appeared beyond a doubt.' According to Muller, the Commodore made the land on July the 18th, in latitude 58° 28′ N. and in longitude 50 degrees by reckoning from *Awatchka*, 'but calculating 'by the reckoning on the return to *Kamtschatka*, '60 degrees.' Another account gives the distance from *Awatchka* 500 Dutch leagues *.

July. On the coast of America.

The prospect of the land before them was magnificent and awful, exhibiting exceeding high mountains, covered far down from the summits with snow. An interior mountain, far inland, was particularly remarked. Steller says, 'it was plainly discernible when the ship 'was sixteen German miles out at sea. I have 'not seen in all *Siberia* a more lofty mountain.'

Mount Saint Elias.

The

* Relation of Bering's American Voyage, published under the title of *Letter of an officer of the Russian marine, who was witness of the expedition. Strahlenberg*, Appendix.

1741. July. Bering on the coast of America. 20th.

The coast here was broken, with inlets. On the 20th, the Commodore anchored near an island which lay a small distance from the continent. A projecting point of the main land was named *Cape Saint Elias*, and a cape to the westward of it, *Saint Hermogenes*. Between these two capes was an opening or gulf which seemed to promise harbour, or places of shelter, if wanted *. The lofty mountain noticed by Steller, was named *Mount Saint Elias*.

Chitrow, the ship-master, went in an armed boat to examine within the gulf, and another boat was sent to seek for fresh water. Chitrow found among small islands in the gulf, a commodious harbour, where ships might lie sheltered from all winds. He saw huts or cabins, but without inhabitants, who it was supposed had retreated on the landing of the Russians. These cabins were built with smooth boards, some carved; within were pieces of cordage, a whetstone on which copper instruments had been sharpened, an arrow, some articles of household furniture, a hollow ball made of baked clay in which a stone rattled, and which probably was a toy for children; and in a cellar was found a store of dried red salmon, of which Chitrow took two bundles. Five red foxes were seen which were not at all wild,

* This gulf has been since named, and is marked in the present charts, *Prince William Sound*.

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1741. Bering on the coast of America.

wild, or frightened at meeting the Russians, but seemed as if tamed by the natives in the manner of dogs. By way of compensation or payment for things which the Russians had taken, the Commodore sent to be left in their steed some green cloth, two iron kettles, two knives, a pound of tobacco, two Chinese pipes and some beads. Steller went in one of the boats and collected plants, descriptions of which are in Gmelin's *Flora Siberica.*

The Commodore did not think it necessary to put into port; and having taken on board a boat load or two of fresh water, on the 21st got under sail to return to the coast of *Asia*, which he proposed to do by tracing the American coast from *Cape St. Hermogenes* north-westward to latitude 65° N. so as to fall in with the coast of *Asia* near his former discovery; but in proceeding westward, the American coast was found to take a southerly direction. The winds were mostly from the westward. Many islands lay in the way, which, with thick foggy weather, 'greatly embarrassed their navigation.' Sometimes, when they thought themselves in an open clear sea, they suddenly saw land close before them and on each side, and had reason to think themselves fortunate that they could turn back. Frequently, in the middle of the night, without perceptible change in the wind or weather, they came all at once from a rough sea into smooth water, and after a few hours, as suddenly into a turbulent sea.

21st.

August.

1741. Bering on the coast of America. 29th. Schumagin's Island.

sea. In this dangerous manner, and with much delay, they found their way through among islands, now known by the name of the *Aleutian* or *Fox Islands*. Their fresh water beginning to run short, on the 29th of August, they anchored at an island in latitude 55° 25′. A Russian seaman died and was buried here, which was the first man lost in the voyage, and the island was named after him *Schumagin's Island*. The scurvy had broken out among the crew, and the Commodore himself was one of the most afflicted with it.

Muller has given the name *Schumagin* to a groupe of Islands. The letter of the officer of the Russian marine says, 'an island at which we watered was named *Schumagin*.' The water taken was from a lake, and had a mixture of sea-water. Steller attributed the increase of the scurvy, which afterwards took place, to using this water; but their stock was reduced, and they were necessitated to take what they could get.

At one island, some men in small boats, like those of the people in *Davis's Strait*, approached the ship, but would not trust themselves on board. They had sticks with wings of birds fastened to one end, similar to the calumet described to be in use among some of the north-eastern American tribes, to signify when their intentions are peaceable. When they retired to the shore, Lieutenant Waxel, accompanied by

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1741. September. Bering at an island.

Steller, went in the ship's boat to make them a visit, taking with them in the boat nine armed men, and a man of the Korjaki, for the chance of his being able to interpret; 'though it had 'never been found that the Korjaki or Tschuktzki 'understood the language of any of the Ame-'ricans.' The shore to which they came was rocky, and the Lieutenant thought it prudent to keep the boat at a little distance. Nine Americans were at the water-side, and as many small boats or canoes were counted on the shore, but no habitation was seen, nor was any woman among them; from which it was concluded, that these men had come here to fish, and that their customary habitation was on the continent. They could not understand the Korjak; but they immediately regarded him as being different from the Russians, and more like one of their own country. The Lieutenant seeing the natives disposed to be friendly, landed three men, the Korjak interpreter being one, and ordered a rope from the boat to be made fast to a rock. To return this confidence, an American, who seemed the eldest, and to be the chief person of their party, entered the boat. The Americans on shore entertained the Russians with whale-flesh, and the Lieutenant presented his American visitor with a glass of brandy; but this drink being perfectly strange to him, the fiery quality of the spirit astonished and alarmed him, and he spit out what he had taken of it in his mouth,

at

1741. Bering at an island.

at the same time calling to his countrymen that he was betrayed. Beads and other presents were offered to him, but nothing would appease or content him except being landed. The Lieutenant, therefore, called to his own men to return to the boat, which two of them were allowed to do. The American was then set at liberty, and the return of the Korjak was expected; but the Americans, after they had their own man safe, were not inclined to part with him; and some of them laid hold of the rope by which the boat was fastened, meaning to draw her on shore, to prevent which, the Lieutenant ordered the rope to be cut. The Korjak all this time incessantly cried to the Russians not to abandon him. It was in vain that signs were made to the Americans to release him. At length the Lieutenant orderd two musquetoons to be fired over their heads, which had the effect desired; for in their first surprize, the report being re-echoed from a neighbouring mountain, they fell flat on the ground, and the Korjak escaped to the boat. When the Americans recovered from their consternation, they expressed much dissatisfaction, and by their noise as well as by gestures, signified to the Russians not to come on shore again. Lieutenant Waxel, not wishing to dis content them, returned to the ship. They had no arms of any kind, and appeared to be provided only for fishing.

The next day, as Lieut. Waxel was preparing to

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1741. September.

to get under sail, for the Commodore was at this time confined by his disorder, seven of the Americans they had seen the preceding day, came in their boats to the ship, and two of them standing up and holding by the entrance ladder, offered their bonnets and a carved image of bone, which had some resemblance to a human figure. They also held up the calumet in sign of peace. 'It 'was a stick about five feet in length, at the 'smaller end of which were tied without any or- 'der, many hawk's feathers.' Presents were made to them, and they would willingly have trusted themselves on board the ship, but the anchor was taking up, and the wind freshened, which obliged them to return as speedily as they could to the shore; and the ship, as she sailed by where they stood, was saluted with loud and friendly shouts.*

They had to struggle against westerly winds, and had almost continual fogs, so that they were a fortnight at one time without seeing sun or star.

24th. On the 24th of September they saw land, which was remarkable for its high mountains, and a number of small islands were passed.

Aleutian Islands. A strong South wind made it dangerous to approach this land. The greater part of the crew were by this time disabled by the scurvy, and though the wind soon changed, the weather continued tempestuous, and they were driven about almost

* 'Bientot apres, les nôtres passant à pleines voiles devant l'isle, 'les Americains recommencerent à crier de plus belle.'

almost at its mercy. On October the 29th, they saw an Island, and on the 30th another, and conjectured them to be two of the northern *Kurili Islands*, on which supposition they steered to the North; but not making the coast of *Kamtschatka* as they expected, they became sensible they had been mistaken, and resumed a westerly course.

November 4th. Bering's Island.

November the 4th, at eight in the morning, they again saw land, but only the tops of mountains at first appeared, and the land was so distant that though they stood towards it the whole day, night came before they could get near enough to look for anchorage. At noon that day, they made their latitude by observation to be 56° N.

5th.

On the morning of the 5th, it was discovered that almost all the shrouds on the starboard side of the ship were broken, which happened from contraction and tenseness caused by frost, for without other mention made of weather it is complained, that the cold was insupportable. In this distress, the Commodore ordered the Lieutenant to call all the officers together to consult on their best mode of proceeding; and the increased number of the sick, with the want of fresh water, determined them at all hazards to seek relief at this land. The wind was northerly, and they had soundings at the depth of 37 fathoms, the bottom sandy. They steered in towards the land WSW. and SW, and two hours after, which was at five

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1741. November. Bering's Island.

five in the evening, they anchored in 12 fathoms, the bottom sand, and veered out three quarters of a cable.

They sea soon began to run high, and at six the cable gave way. Another anchor was let go, but the ship struck twice against a rock, although at the time they found alongside by the lead five fathoms depth of water. The cable of the second anchor quickly parted; 'fortunately, a third anchor was not ready,' for whilst they were preparing it, a high wave threw the ship over a bank of rocks, and all at once she was in still water, where they dropped their third anchor in four fathoms and a half, about 600 yards distant from the land. They lay quiet here during the rest of the night. The next morning they saw themselves enveloped with rocks and breakers. They were certain that the coast of *Kamtschatka* was not far distant from them, but the condition of the ship, of the ship's company, and the advanced time of the year, for the ground was covered with snow, made it immediately apparent that they would have to remain at this land all the winter. The letter of the officer of the Russian marine says, 'in endeavouring to go to the 'west, we were cast on a desart isle, where we 'had the prospect of finishing the greater part of 'our days. Our vessel was broken on one of the 'banks with which this isle is surrounded. We failed not to save ourselves on shore, with all

'such

'such things as we thought we should have need 'of; for by a marked kindness of Providence, 'the winds and waves threw after us upon the 'shore the wreck and remains of our vessel, 'which we gathered together to put us in a state, 'with the blessing of God, to quit this desolate 'abode.'

1741. Bering's Island.

Those who were able to labour went on shore to prepare lodging for the sick, which they did by digging pits or caverns between some sand-hills, near a brook which ran from a mountain to the sea; and sails were used for present covering. No sign was perceived of the land being inhabited, nor were trees seen, but drift-wood was found along the shore. On the 8th, they began to transport the sick. Some expired as soon as they were brought into the fresh air, and some in the removal to land. The management of sick people with respect to air, has since that time undergone great reform. It must be within the memory of many, the great care with which the apartments of the sick were guarded against the admission of fresh air, and in few instances more than in what was called the sick birth on board a ship of war, where it was customary to keep a number of diseased persons labouring under different maladies, inclosed and crowded together.

On the 9th, the Commodore was carried on shore. He was daily growing worse, and the place yielded little of antiscorbutic quality. The herbage

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1741. Bering's Island.

herbage that grew on the Island was hidden under snow; and if that had not been the case, the Russians in that part of the world were little acquainted with the value of vegetables as antiseptics. At the time of Captain Cook's last voyage, the Governor of *Kamtschatka* had the only garden in the province, and at *Awatchka Bay*, wild garlick was almost the only vegetable in common use. Every soldier in garrison there was in some degree affected with scurvy.

Commodore Bering's ship had been cast on the East side of the Island. Men were sent both northward and southward to examine the coast. They found neither tree nor trace of inhabitants. Along the shores were many sea-otters, (*loutres marines*). The interior of the island swarmed with foxes, some blue, some white, their fur not so fine as that of the Siberia fox. They were not frightened at the sight of men. Some of the Russians who went in-land, from the top of a mountain saw the sea to the West. They found no harbour or place where ships might ride in security.

The sea otter.

'Of the marine animals which served as nou-
'rishment for the shipwrecked crew, they had
'at first only the *loutres* already mentioned, the
'flesh of which, of the males especially, was hard,
'and so tough, that it could scarcely be torn to
'pieces with the teeth, so that it was found
'necessary to chop it into small pieces. A *loutre*
'furnished from 40 to 50 *lbs.* of flesh. The intestines

'intestines were mostly used as food for the sick. 'Steller, in the descriptions he has given of 'marine animals, reckons the flesh of the loutre 'as a specific against the scurvy; and he attri- 'buted to it the cure of those of Commodore 'Bering's crew who recovered from the disease. 'When they were not wanted for food, they 'were killed for their fine skins, for which the 'Chinese would pay to the Russians on the fron- 'tiers at *Kiachta*, at the rate of from 80 to 100 'rubles each. Nine hundred of these skins were 'collected on the island by the crew, which were 'divided among all equally; but Steller was the 'most fortunate; for in his capacity as physi- 'cian, he received many as presents, and others 'he bought of persons who in the uncertainty of 'living, held them in small estimation. His 'share alone is said to have amounted to 300 'skins, which he carried with him to *Kamtschatka* 'and *Siberia* *.'

A dead whale which was thrown on the coast, they called their magazine, being a resource when nothing could be got better. They cut the flesh into small pieces, which they boiled a long time to separate from it the oil as much as possible, and the remaining hard and sinewy parts they swallowed without chewing. In the sharing of provisions of every kind, no distinction was made between private men and officers; every one had a fair and equal portion. The merit

* Muller, II, 309—10.

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merit of this regulation, Lieutenant Waxel, who was the active manager, should share with the Commodore; and praise is due to that officer for his considerate conduct towards the Aleutian islanders, as above related, notwithstanding that they were aggressors.

December. Death of Commodore Bering.

The Commodore died on the 8th of December. Muller relates, 'He was a Dane by birth, and 'had made voyages both to the *East* and *West* 'Indies. He was a Lieutenant in the Russian 'service in the year 1707, and Captain Lieu- 'tenant in 1710. It is a subject of regret that 'his life terminated so miserably. It may be said 'that he was almost buried whilst alive, for the 'sand rolling down almost continually from the 'side of the cavern or pit in which he lay, and 'covering his feet, he at last would not suffer it 'to be removed, saying he felt warmth from 'it when he felt none in other parts of his body; 'and the sand thus gradually increased upon him 'till he was more than half covered. So that 'when he was dead, it was necessary to unearth 'him to inter him in a proper manner.' In honour of the Commodore, the Island has been named after him, and may be regarded as his monument.

1742. March.

In the month of March the loutres or sea-otters disappeared, whether from custom of changing their place of abode at particular seasons of the year, or that their persecution had given a general alarm to them, is doubtful. They

They were succeeded in the occupation of the rocks of *Bering's Island* by other marine animals, who also after short residence, in turn disappeared.

Thirty of the crew died on the Island. The foxes were so ravenous and bold, that good watch was necessary to keep them from the dead bodies.

May. On the 6th of May, was begun the building of a vessel with what was saved of the wreck of the ship, to carry the remaining crew, in number 45 persons, to *Kamtschatka*. Three carpenters with which the ship had been provided were all dead; but a Siberian kossak named Staro-dubzow, who had worked some time as a ship-wright at *Ochotzk*, offered to superintend the building of the new vessel, and to him the direction was entrusted. There was a deficiency of tar, which was supplied from new cordage they had to spare, in the following manner: They cut and picked it small, and filled a large copper kettle with it, having a cover fitting close at the rim, with a hole in the middle. They then took another vessel provided with a cover made in the same manner as the former, which they stuck in the ground, and upon this they set the copper kettle upside down, the apertures in the lids being placed exactly against each other. As much of this machinery was buried in earth, as rendered it safe to make a fire round what was above ground; by which means the

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tar of the new cordage melted and ran into the inferior vessel.

August.

August the 10th, the new vessel was launched. On the 16th, they sailed, but had contrary winds and did not make the coast of *Kamtschatka* till the 25th, though the distance from *Bering's Island* has been computed at not more than 30 German miles.

The 27th, they anchored in *Awatchka Bay*. Their vessel performed so well in the passage, that the kossak Starodubzow was, for his good service, promoted to the rank of Sinbojarski, which is a degree of Siberian nobility. In the harbour of *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, Waxel found a good store of provisions, which had been lodged there by Captain Tschirikow, of whose voyage it remains to give an account.

Voyage of Tschirikow to the coast of America. 1741.

July. 15th.

After his separation from the Commodore, Tschirikow sailed for the American coast, which he made on the 15th of July,* in latitude 55° 36′ N, and longitude by reckoning from *Awatschka Bay*, 62 degrees. The coast was at this part, rocky and without islands near it. The ship was in want of fresh water, and it was desired also to obtain some knowledge of the country, Tschirikow thereupon anchored, but at a distance, and sent

* Guillaume de Lisle, the geographer, gives this account of the ship's reckoning from the papers of his brother de la Croyere. He dates Tschirikow's making the American coast, on the 26th of July, allowing for the difference of style, not then adopted by the Russians.

sent the long boat with the pilot, Abraham Dementiew, and ten good men well armed, to the shore, furnished with provision for several days, and with a small brass cannon. Dementiew was instructed in what manner he was to act on various occasions which might happen, and what signals he should make use of to be understood on board the ship. The boat was seen to row into a bay behind a small cape, and by signals it was concluded, that she got safely to land. Her return was expected on that day or the next at farthest; but several days passed, and she came not, yet signals continued to be made from the shore. This caused it to be conjectured that the boat had received damage in landing, and needed repair before the crew could embark in her. The boatswain, Sidor Sawelaw, was therefore sent in the small boat to her assistance, with carpenters and necessary materials. This was on the 21st of July, and Sawelaw was ordered to return to the ship as soon as he should have supplied Dementiew with what was wanted, either with him, or with his own boat only.

21st.

Neither the one nor the other boat returned, and a great smoke was seen continually ascending from that part of the land. The next day, two boats were perceived rowing off from the land, which were immediately supposed to be Dementiew and Sawelaw, and every person in the ship who was able, ascended the deck, with the expectation of receiving their companions, for

22d.

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1741. July. Tschrikow on the coast of America.

whose safety they had been many days under much alarm. Preparations were at the same time made for getting the ship under sail; but as the boats approached, it became evident that the people in them were not Russians. The Americans, on their part, seeing many people on board the ship, which, it is probable, they expected to find almost without men after so many had been sent from her, stopped short at some distance, and making a small pause, they stood up in their boats and called out with a loud voice, *Agai, Agai*, after which, they took to their oars, and returned to the land.

It was regretted that Captain Tschirikow, when he discovered the people in the boats coming off to be Americans, had not concealed his men from their sight, by which he might have found opportunity to have secured some of them, and thereby have recovered his own people. The natives of this part of the north-west coast of *America* live principally by hunting and catching game, in which occupations they are in the continual practice of every species of decoy. They imitate the whistlings of birds; they have carved wooden masks resembling the heads of animals, which they put on over their own and enter the woods in masquerade. They had observed the signals made to the ship by the Russian boat which first came to land, and the continuance of signals afterwards seen by the Russians on board, were doubtless American imitations.

Captain

Captain Tschirikow had no boat left. A strong West wind arose, which obliged him to get under sail to keep clear of a rocky coast. On the weather becoming milder, he stood in again near to the place where his boats had landed; but it was to no purpose, for he neither saw nor heard anything of them, nor did any of the natives come near the ship; so that having no means of redress, it was unanimously concluded at a council of the Officers, to return to *Kamtschatka*.

1741. Tschirikow on the coast of America.

In the passage back Tschirikow met with the same contrary winds and foggy weather experienced by the Commodore; nevertheless he ranged along the American coast 100 German miles without losing sight of it. The want of a boat prevented landing to recruit their fresh water, and relief was sought by attempting to distil sea-water, in which it is said they so far succeeded as to deprive the water of saltness, but the bitterness remained. The water thus obtained they mixed with equal quantities of their remaining stock of fresh. Fortunately they were better relieved by rain.

On the 9th of October they entered the *Bay of Awatschka*. Of seventy men who sailed in the ship, twenty-one died. M. de Lisle de la Croyere, who had been some time in a lingering state, on the arrival of the ship into port, was impatient to be landed; but on coming upon deck, he fell down, and immediately expired.

October.

The knowledge of the lands eastward of *Kamt-*

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Tschirikow on the coast of America.

schatka, in the same parallel, was immediately productive of new voyages, the first to *Bering's Island*, which lay the nearest to *Kamtschatka*, and offered a rich harvest of sea-otter, and other skins. SE. and SSE. from *Bering's Island*, not more than 6 or 7 leagues distant, are two or three smaller Islands, the most considerable of which has been named *Mednoi* (which signifies copper), from a great quantity of native copper being found on its shores. The North-eastern shore, on which the Russians first landed, was covered with copper washed up by the sea, in such abundance, that ships it is said might have been loaded with it.* This Island must have been seen by Bering's people, though not noticed in the account of the voyage, as in their return to *Kamtschatka* they sailed round the SE. end of *Bering's Island*.

Mednoi Island.

More distant voyages soon took place, one of which made in 1745, by Michael Nevodtsikoff, has been noticed in a former chapter (chap. 4.) A chain of islands situated in a kind of circular range between *Kamtschatka* and *America*, became distinctly known and received names. Which of these Islands were seen by Bering or by Tschirikow, and which discovered afterwards, it must be very difficult, if at all possible, to determine; but those two navigators are properly to be reckoned the discoverers of the whole. They are named generally, *Aleoutskie* or *Aleutian*.

Aleoutskie or Aleutian Islands.

'Those

* *Coxe*, pp. 21, 29 and 252. 2d Edit.

'Those lying next beyond *Bering's* or *Commodore's*, and *Copper Islands*, are called The *middle Aleoutskie*, or *Andrean's Islands*. Those still farther to the East are called *Fox Islands*. These last are larger, better peopled, and of more consequence to the Russians than all the rest. All these islands lie between 51° and 57° of North latitude; they all resemble one another in the want of wood, in being mountainous, and in having craggy sea-shores. Some have volcanos, hot springs, lakes, and rapid rivers. The inhabitants, in appearance, language, and manner of living, resemble the Eskimaux, and the Greenlanders, and seem to be of the same race.' *

The Fox Islands.

Mr. Coxe has given an account of several voyages undertaken to the *Aleutian Islands*, by Russian merchants and hunters, in the early years of the discovery. The number of sea animals taken in them is astonishing, and fully accounts for the decrease which has of late years been complained of. Andrew Tolstyck sailed from *Kamtschatka* in August 1749. His ship lay at anchor before *Bering's Island* from the 6th of September to the 20th of May 1750, which in that boisterous climate and little sheltered by the land, is a remarkable circumstance, and shews that near the

* *Plescheef's Survey of the Russian Empire.* English translation, by *Smirnove.* London, 1792. p. 291. Plescheef adds, that at the time he wrote, almost all the islands had been made tributary.

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Aleutian or Fox Islands.

the Island there is good ground for anchorage. Only 47 sea-otters were caught whilst the ship lay at *Bering's Island*; but from thence, Tolstyck went to the Eastern Islands, amongst which he and his people 'slew 1,662 old and middle 'aged sea-otters, and 119 cubs; besides which, 'their cargo consisted of the skins of 720 blue 'foxes, and 840 sea-bears, with which they 'returned to *Kamtschatka*, July the 3d, 1752.' * Other of the voyages related were equally destructive of the animals.

Mr. Coxe has collected much information respecting the *Aleutian Islands* and their inhabitants. From his work I have copied the following picture of the Russian intercourse with the Aleutian Islanders:—

'The Russians have for some years past been 'accustomed to go to these islands in quest of 'furs, of which they have imposed a tax on the 'inhabitants. The manner of carrying on the 'trade is as follows: The Russian traders go in 'autumn to *Bering's* and *Copper Island*, and win-'ter there, employing themselves in catching the 'sea-cat, and afterwards the Scivutcha or sea-lion. 'The flesh of the latter is prepared for food, and 'is very delicate. The next summer they go 'eastward to the *Fox Islands*, and again lay up 'their ships for the winter. They then endea-'vour to procure, either by persuasion or force, 'the children of the inhabitants, particularly 'of

* *Coxe*, p. 40.

'of the Tookoos (or chiefs), as hostages. This 'being accomplished, they deliver to the inha- 'bitants fox-traps, and skins for their boats, for 'which they oblige them to bring furs, and pro- 'visions during the winter. After obtaining 'from them a certain quantity of furs by way 'of tax, for which they give quittances, the 'Russians pay for the rest in beads, false pearls, 'goats wool, copper kettles, hatchets, &c. In 'the spring, they get back their traps and deli- 'ver up their hostages. They dare not hunt 'alone, nor in small numbers, on account of the 'hatred of the natives.'

The geographical particulars related in the preceding part, were known when the map of the Russian discoveries, composed, or at least revised and corrected under the direction of M. Muller, was published by the Academy at *Petersburgh*. A map to a small work published under the title of *An Account of the New Northern Archipelago*, by Von Stæhlin, places a large Island opposite to the East Cape of Asia, passed by Bering, and immediately beyond this large Island is placed the American continent. This was probably copied from Iwan Lwaw's map, and derived from native information.

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Enterprising attempts of Shalauroff, *a Russian Merchant, to sail round the* North-east *of* Asia. Dauerkin *in* Bering's Strait.

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AMONG the most bold and persevering attempts for discovery are to be ranked those of a Russian merchant named Shalauroff, who between the years 1760 and 1765, made four voyages on the *Icy Sea* with the intention to sail round the *Schelatzkoi Nos* or North-east extremity of *Asia*, to the sea of *Kamtschatka*.

For the knowledge of Shalauroff's expeditions, we are indebted to Mr. Coxe and Martin Sauer.

Expeditions of Shalauroff.

In the summer of 1760, Shalauroff departed from the River *Lena* in one of the vessels called Schitiki, built at his own expence. The sea was that year loaded with ice, and he got no farther than the *River Jana*, where he wintered.

1760.

1761.

In July 1761, he put to sea from the *Jana*. He had on board with him as an associate or a companion, an exiled naval officer named Iwan Bachoff. This season was also unfavourable. The vessel was entangled with ice, amongst the *Medviedskie* or *Bear Islands*, and after getting clear, Shalauroff was obliged to run into one of the

Medviedskie Islands.

the mouths of the river *Kolyma*, where the vessel was laid up for the winter.

Expedition of Shalauroff.

In a chart made by Iwan Bachoff, the nearest of the *Medviedskie Islands* lays NE. not more than 40 wersts from the entrance of the *River Krestova*. They are five small rocky islands, which have been at some former time inhabited (it is most probable only occasionally by hunters) the ruins of huts being still found there.

Third voyage of Shalauroff. 1762. July.

The third attempt of Shalauroff was in the year 1762. He had lost his associate Bachoff, who died in the beginning of the year at *Neishni Kolyma*. The entrance of the *Kolyma* was not clear of ice before July the 21st, when Shalauróff put to sea. He steered as much as the ice would permit, along the coast towards the NE. On, or shortly after, the 10th of August, he came to a Cape which he named *Barannoi Kamen* (the Sheep's Rock). 'This rock rises '29 yards above high-water mark, and is in 'shape like a pear with the stalk downward, 'being narrower at the bottom than at the top.' Not far distant, was another 'remarkable rock 'resembling a crooked horn,' and named *Saetshie Kamen*. Here the vessel was hemmed in three days by the ice. On the 23d, the ice broke up, and he steered on to the North-east, in order to double, if he could, the *Schelatzkoi Nos*; but the wind became unfavourable, large masses of ice were floating round the vessel, and the crew were earnest for seeking a place to pass the winter

August. Cape Barannoi Kamen.

Saetshie Kamen.

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winter in. On the 25th he sailed round the northern side of an Island which he named *Sabedei*, into a Bay which has been named *Tschaoon Bay*.

Sabedei Island.

Tschaoon Bay.

In *Tschaoon Bay*, they found two rivulets, but no trees nor drift-wood; yet close to the 'narrow channel' which separates *Sabedei* from the main land, there were habitations. On the Russians approaching them, the inhabitants withdrew to a distance. *Sabedei* seems large to have been mentioned as a small Island; yet small is not a definite term, and its being so near to the continent as well as its distance from the *Kolyma*, make these dwellings correspond with the habitations of Kopai, formerly visited by Willegin and Amossow.

No fish were found in *Tschaoon Bay*, therefore it could not suit Shalauroff's crew for a winter residence, and he stood out again to sea. September the 8th, '*he fastened his vessel to a large body of ice, and was carried along by a current towards the* WSW. *at the rate of five versts an hour*. On the 10th, he saw far to the NE b N. 'a mountain.'* After this, he sailed back to the *Kolyma*. It is remarked that he found the currents setting almost uniformly from the East.

September.

Shalauroff continued strongly of opinion that to double the *Schelatzkoi Nos* was not impracticable, and was zealously bent on accomplishing it. His crew, on the contrary, would not consent

* Coxe, p. 327.

sent to undertake again such an enterprise, neither would they trust themselves with him any longer, and he was necessitated to return in 1763 to the *River Lena.*

1764. The last voyage of Shaulauroff.

In the summer of 1764, he sailed from the *Lena* to repeat the attempt, and with assistance or encouragement from the Government, to obtain which he had travelled to *Moscow* and back to the *Lena.* This proved the last expedition undertaken by this adventurous man, for neither himself nor any of his people ever returned.

Concerning their fate, different reports and opinions have been current. About that time, the Korjaki who lived on the North side of the *River Anadir*, would not purchase flour of the Russians according to their annual custom, and on inquiry, it was found that they had been supplied by the Tschuktzki. Also, in the year 1766 or 1767, people of the Tschuktzki nation brought paintings of Russian saints to the *Anadirsk Fort* to sell, and some among them had cloth jackets. It was not doubted that these things came from the plunder of Shalauroff's vessel, which made it be conjectured that he had got round to the *Sea of Anadir*, and that he and his people were there murdered by the Tschuktzki; which conclusion does not necessarily follow, and many years afterwards (*i. e.* in 1786), Martin Sauer being at the *River Kolyma*, was told by a native of the Tschuktzki country, named Dauerkin, who was then engaged as interpreter

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interpreter in the service of the Russians, that Shalauroff's vessel had been found drifting near the entrance of the *Kolyma*, in the autumn of the same year in which he had put to sea, and that himself and his people were found frozen to death in a tent, 20 or 30 versts eastward of *Cape Barannoi Kamen*, having with them provisions, arms, and ammunition. Against the probability of this account being the fact, nothing can be urged. The circumstances related seem plainly to evince that Shalauroff's vessel had been beset by the ice, and that he and his crew had abandoned her and trusted to the land for their preservation.

Mr. Coxe has given a copy of Iwan Bachoff's chart, which must have received additions, as it shows the discoveries made by Shalauroff after the death of Bachoff. The coast therein from the *Jana* eastward seems circumstantially delineated, but without scale; which defect may be supplied by allowing the distance between the entrances of the *Jana* and the *Kolyma* to be the same as in the other charts then in use.

The expeditions of Shalauroff gave rise to a report which was inserted in the *Delft* Gazette of March 2d, 1765, and copied thence by M. Dumas, the French translator of Muller's History of the Russian Discoveries, purporting that 'the '*Tschuktzki Nos* had been happily doubled in '74° North latitude.'

Dauerkin.

It is related of Dauerkin, or Daurkin, the Tschuktzki

Tschuktzki interpretor, that he was taken prisoner by the Russians when young, and was kept and bred up by them. He was put to serve among the Kossaks. In 1760, a person named Plenismar, a native of *Courland*, was appointed commander of *Ochotzk*, with an express order from the Court to go to the Anadirsk district, and by inquiries to procure all the intelligence he was able concerning the Tschuktzki people, their country, and the opposite continent. Plenismar went both to the *Anadir* and to the *Kolyma*, and made inquiries among the Korjaki who had intercourse with the Tschuktzki. He also sent Dauerkin back to his country, it is said with private direction to feign a desertion from the Russian port on the *Anadir*, that he might be well received. Dauerkin went and remained with his countrymen till the winter of 1763. On his return to the Russians, he related among other matter, that in October when the sea in *Bering's Strait* was frozen over, he procured a sledge and a couple of rein-deer, and in company with a Tschuktzki man who had adopted him as a kinsman, passed over the ice to the first island and arrived there in five or six hours, and that he was received kindly by the inhabitants. *

1763.

That the sea should be frozen over in *Bering's Strait* (which is in no higher latitude than 66° N.) so early in the year as October, would appear improbable

* Pallas's *Neue Nordische Beytrage*, and quoted by Pennant in Supplement to his *Arctic Zoology*. Vol. II. p. 35.

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improbable if subsequent observation did not furnish explanation.

It should be remarked to the credit of Dauerkin, that there is no reason to believe the task imposed on him (for his employers were not people to whom nay might safely be said,) led him to act or intend treacherously towards his country. On the contrary, he was suspected by the Russians, to be in heart wholly Tschuktzki. If, as is said, he went a commissioned spy from the Russians, it is probable he returned to them in full understanding with his own countrymen. He appears to have been many years a useful agent on both sides.

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Of the Lands in the Icy Sea. *Journey of* Hedenstrom *to the* New Siberia.

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1761.

IN the year 1760 or 1761, some Russians being at the *Medviedskie Islands*, saw to the North an appearance like land, towards which they went far enough to ascertain that it was really land. Information of this discovery, accompanied with a chart in which it was represented (according to former reports) as a continuation of the continent of *America*, was sent to *Petersburgh*, in 1764, by the Governor of *Tobolsk*, Denys Ivanovitch Tschetchirin. The particulars mentioned, were, that 'a Serjeant 'Andreef had seen from the last of the *Medvi-* 'edskie Islands, at a very great distance, land 'which was thought to be a large Island, towards 'which he and others went in nartes on the ice; 'but when they arrived within about 20 versts of 'it, they found the fresh footsteps or traces of a 'great number of people who had been that way 'in rein-deer sledges; and being themselves but 'few in number, they returned to the *Kolyma*.'*

1764. Land in the Icy Sea discovered by Andreef.

In

* This account of the discovery is inserted in the Instructions given in 1785, by the Russian Admiralty to Captain Lieutenant Billings, for a voyage he was ordered to make from the *Kolyma*. *Sauer*. Appendix, p. 48.

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In the winter of that year, Governor Tschetchirin sent some Russian Officers to search for Andreef's Land, and they went in sledges drawn by dogs from the mouth of the *Krestova*; but they returned without obtaining sight of it, and the whole was discredited. The following note occurs in Mr. Coxe's Russian Discoveries, which is evidently adopted from Russian accounts: 'For a long time, vague reports were propagated 'that the Continent of *America* stretched along 'the *Frozen Ocean* very near the coasts of *Siberia*: 'and some persons pretended to have discovered 'its shore not far from the Rivers *Kolyma* and '*Krestova*. But the falsity of these reports was 'proved by an expedition made in 1764 by some 'Russian Officers sent by the Governor of *To-*'*bolsk*. These Officers went in winter, when the 'sea was frozen, in sledges from the mouth of 'the *Krestova*. They found five small rocky 'Islands, called the *Medviedskie Islands*. As far 'as they durst venture beyond, over the *Frozen* '*Sea*, no land could be seen: but high mountains 'of ice obstructed their passage and forced them 'to return.'

Very shortly after this strongly expressed disbelief of Andreef's discovery, an end was put to all question, and the existence of lands to the North fully established. A native of *Jakutzk* named Etirikan, affirmed that he had seen the northern land; and on his information, Lachoff, a merchant of *Jakutzk*, accompanied by Protodiakonoff, another Russian, went in the month of March

March 1770, from the river *Jana* to the *Swiætoi Nos*, or NE. cape of the bay of the *Jana* *. On arriving at this *Cape*, 'they saw an immense herd 'of deer going to the South, and observed that 'their traces were from the North across the *Icy* '*Sea*. Lachoff resolved to endeavour to discover 'whence they came; and in the beginning of 'April, set out early one morning on nartes 'drawn by dogs, and towards evening, having 'gone by estimation 70 versts from the promon- 'tory in a due North direction, he arrived at an 'Island, where he passed the night. The next 'day, the traces of the deer still serving as a 'guide, he went to a second Island 20 versts 'more distant from the Continent in the same 'direction, at which he arrived about noon. 'The traces of the rein-deer were still farther to 'the North, and he continued his route; but at a 'small distance beyond the second Island the ice 'became rugged and mountainous, so as to pre- 'vent his proceeding with dogs. He did not see 'land [that way], and after passing a night on 'the ice, he returned, and with difficulty reached 'the

1770.

Lachoff's journey to the northern lands.

* The narrative which follows of Lachoff's discovery, is given from Martin Sauer, who relates, that being at *Jakutzk* in the winter of 1787, he made it his business to get acquainted with Lachoff; but Lachoff being old and infirm, recommended him, for the intelligence he desired to obtain, to one of his companions in the discovery, Protodiakonoff, then a shopkeeper in the town of *Jakutzk*. *Sauer's Account of the Expeditions of Joseph Billings.* Chap. 7.

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'the Continent, the provisions for his dogs being 'all expended.'

1770. Lachoff's Journey to the northern lands.

He represented his discovery to the Chancery at *Jakutzk*, whence the intelligence was forwarded to *Petersburgh*, and the Empress, Katherine the IId, was pleased to order the two Islands to be named after Lachoff, who having actually landed on them after so much doubt respecting their existence, was thought worthy to be regarded as the discoverer; and she bestowed on him the exclusive privilege of collecting ivory and hunting animals, there and in any other place he should afterwards discover, which proved to be a privilege of no small amount, and was not unjust to Andreef, this being a different land from his discovery. Permakow was in fact the discoverer, and it cost him his life. Etirikan also, had some claim to have shared in the advantage with Lachoff.

1773. 'In 1773, Lachoff went with five workmen in 'a boat to the islands, crossing *straits*, where they 'found the sea very salt, and a current setting 'to the West. [This of course was in the sum-'mer.] The weather being clear, they soon saw 'more land to the North, and arrived on what 'Lachoff called the *Third Island*. The shore 'was covered with drift wood. The land was 'very mountainous, and seemingly of great ex-'tent; but no wood was seen growing, nor were 'traces observed of any human being. They 'found tusks of the Mammont, and saw the 'tracks

'tracks of animals. They returned to the *First* '*Island*, where Lachoff built a hut with drift-'wood, and passed the winter. One of his com-'panions left a brass kettle on the third Island.' The three islands are called *Lachoff's* or *Liahoff's* Islands, but each has its separate name besides; the first *Etirikan*, the second *Middle Island*, and the third *Kotelnoy*, on account of the brass kettle being afterwards found on it.

Lachoff's Islands.

The Mammont is an animal the breed of which is believed to be extinct. Many of their tusks have been found along the shores of the rivers which run into the *Icy Sea*, and are described by Sauer 'to equal the Elephant's teeth in whiteness 'and beauty; but to be different in shape, being 'spirally bent, forming about one round and 'a half. One of the largest found, measured 'in French measurement,

Tusks of the Mammont.

	Feet.	In.	Lines
'Length with the bend - -	8	7	4
'Circumference of thickest part, 'which was 22 inches from the 'root - - - - -	0	17	8

'Weight 115 lbs. avoirdupois.

'The outside was very brown from having 'been exposed to the weather, and it was cracked 'through the coat or upper stratum about an 'inch. The inside was quite firm and white.' The Behemot mentioned in Gu. de Lisle's Map of *Tartary* [De Lisle's Atlas, carte 34], most probably meant the same animal which Sauer calls the Mammont.

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Lachoff's Islands.

'The discovery of these lands was regarded 'as important, and Chvoinoff, the land surveyor, 'received orders from the Chancery of *Jakutzk* 'to accompany Lachoff to the farther land, and 1775. 'to take an exact survey of it. Towards the March. 'end of March 1775, he arrived at the mouth of 'the *Jana* and proceeded across the Bay to '*Swiætoi Nos*, which is 400 versts NNE. from May. 'the mouth of the River. On May the 6th, he 'arrived at the *First Island*, which is 150 versts 'long, 80 broad in the widest part, and 20 at the 'narrowest. In the middle is a lake of consider-'able extent, but very shallow, although the 'borders are steep. The whole Island, except 'three or four rocky mountains, is composed of 'ice and sand; and as the shores fall from the 'heat of the sun thawing them, the tusks and 'bones of the Mammont are found in great 'abundance. To use Chvoinoff's expression, 'the Island is formed of the bones of this extra-'ordinary animal, mixed with the heads and 'horns of animals resembling the buffalo and 'rhinoceros. And now and then, but very rarely, 'is found a thin bone, of considerable length, 'and formed like a screw.'

'The second, or *Middle Island*, is low and 'without drift-wood. It is 20 versts from the 'first, is 50 versts in length, and from 20 to 30 'in breadth. Here also tusks and other bones 'are found; and great numbers of arctic foxes 'are to be met with on both the Islands. The surface

'surface of this is a bed of moss of considerable 'thickness, which produces low plants and 'flowers, such as grow on the borders of the *Icy* 1775. '*Sea.* This moss may be stripped off as you 'would take a carpet from a floor, and the 'earth underneath appears like clear ice and 'never thaws: these spots are called *Kaltusæ.*'

'The Strait to the *Third Island* is 100 versts Kotelnoy. 'across. He travelled along the shore [of the 'Third Island] and on the 21st of May came to 'a very considerable River, near which he found 'the kettle, some cut wood, and other things 'left there by Lachoff and his company three 'years before. This River he named *Tzarevaia* '*Reka.* The shores were covered with drift-'wood, all of it extremely shattered. Ascending 'to the top of a very lofty mountain, he saw a 'mountainous land as far as his eye could trace 'in clear weather, extending East, West, and 'North. He continued his route 100 versts 'along the coast; he observed three rivers, each 'of which brought down quantities of drift-wood, 'and abounded in fish; among them was the 'nerk, a species of salmon found at *Ochotzk* and 'in *Kamtschatka*, though this fish is not found in 'the *Kolyma* or *Indigirka.* On this land he 'passed the summer, and returned in the autumn 'to *Swiætoi Nos.*'

'I asked Protodiakonoff,' continues Sauer, 'whether he observed any regular ebb or flow 'of the tide? He said that "he did not observe

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" any remarkable alteration." Whether he recol-
' lected how the current set? " He believed to
" the West." Whether the water was salt? " Yes,
" and very bitter." He further said, there were
' whales and belluga, white bears, wolves, and
' rein-deer. No growing wood was seen, and the
' mountains were bare stone. None of the tra-
' vellers took notice of the depth of the water,
' nor were they acquainted with the nature of
' tides.'* The foregoing account is corroborated by Pallas, by Krusenstern, by the admission of the discovered lands on the Russian charts, and by recent additional information; of which last, the following are the principal heads:—

On the death of Lachoff, his right, or privileges, in the islands devolved to a merchant named Sizovatzkoi. The merchant Sannikoff, who was clerk to Sizovatzkoi, discovered an Island to the West of *Kotelnoy*, and betwixt the latitude of that and the small or *Middle Island*, to which new discovery, on account of its great elevation, he gave the name of *Stolbovoi*, which signifies *Column*; and in 1805, the same Sannikoff discovered to the East of *Kotelnoy* an Island, which he named *Phadeef*, after a person who made his winter habitation there; but Captain Krusenstern gives it the name of *Sannikoff*, its discoverer.

Stolbovoi Island.

1805. Phadeef, or Sannikoff Island.

1806. An extensive northern land discovered.

In 1806, Sannikoff discovered, to the East of his discovery of the preceding year, a land of yet

* *Sauer's Account of the Expeditions of Captain Joseph Billings.* p. 103 to p. 106.

yet greater extent, which has since been named the *New Siberia*; and to the North and NW. [of *Sannikoff Island*] he thought that he saw yet other lands, but did not approach near enough to be certain whether it was land or ice. In 1808, 1808. discovery was made of another isle, westward of *Sannikoff's Isle*. Information of these newly found lands being sent to *Petersburgh*, Count Romanzoff, Chancellor of the Empire, employed a man of considerable talents and enterprise, named Hedenstrom, but who had been sentenced to exile in *Siberia*, to make examination of the lands discovered. In May 1809, Hedenstrom 1809. departed from the entrance of the *Jana*, from which time to his return to the *Jana* was thirty-six days, and the account he gave, was, that he had ascertained an extent of 250 versts of coast of a land which he called the *New Siberia*, being the land discovered by Sannikoff in 1806. In a second voyage, which he made in the winter season, Hedenstrom says, he came to an eastern termination of the same land, and named it *Cape Kamenoi*; from which *Cape* the coast was observed to take a northwest direction. Nevertheless, 'Hedenstrom was of opinion that this 'land was a prolongation of the continent of 'America*.' If so, it must be with the intervention of a gulf.

Cape Kamenoi.

* *Memoir by Captain Krusenstern.* Published in the *Naval Chronicle* for October, 1814.

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Captain James Cook *on the* North-west *Coast of* America.

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1772.

I AM now to speak of a voyage in which it was my good fortune (such I have always considered it) to bear a part. I had sailed with Captain Cook in his search for a southern continent, in the years 1772-3-4, and at the time he was fitting out for his expedition to attempt a northern passage from the *Pacific Ocean* to the *Atlantic*, I was serving in *America* as first Lieutenant of the Cerberus frigate. The Earl of Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty, was so good, in consideration of my having before sailed with Captain Cook, to send an order to the Commander in Chief on the American station, to allow me to return to *England* if I preferred sailing again with Captain Cook to serving in *America*. I gladly availed myself of the permission, and went passenger to *England* in the first ship dispatched from the American squadron; and on my arrival was appointed first Lieutenant of the Discovery, the smallest of two ships which were fitting out for the *Pacific*.

As

The part of Captain Cook's voyage which concerns the geography of the North-eastern coasts of *Asia*, and the discovery of a northern communication between the *Atlantic* and *Pacific Oceans*, is connected with the purpose of this work. If in a few instances I exceed that limit, the reader I hope will deem it a pardonable transgression.

Captain Cook left *England* in July 1776, having two ships under his command, himself in the Resolution, and Captain Charles Clerke in the Discovery. In December 1777, he sailed from the *Society Islands* to enter on northern discovery. On the 18th of the January following, he discovered the North-western Islands of a groupe, which he named the *Sandwich Islands*. Sailing thence North-eastward, on the 7th of March, in latitude 44½° N., he came in sight of the American Continent, at the coast of *New Albion*.

1778.

March. Captain Cook on the north-west coast of America.

After making the coast, unfavourable winds and weather forced the ships as far South as to 43°, and when we again made way northward, blowing and thick unsettled weather prevented our tracing a continuation of the coast, so that between a Cape in latitude 44° 55′ N. named by Captain Cook *Cape Foulweather*, and a point of land in 48° 15′ N., which he named *Cape Flattery*, because the prospect of the land near it gave a doubtful promise of a harbour, we obtained only now and then a glimpse of the land.

We

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1778. March. 22d. Captain Cook on the NW. coast of America.

We were near the last-mentioned point on the evening of the 22d, and a little before seven o'clock, it growing dark, Captain Cook tacked to wait for daylight, intending to make closer examination; but before morning, a hard gale of wind came on with rainy weather, and we were obliged to keep off from the land. At this time a port was necessary to both ships, to repair the lower rigging, as well as to recruit their stock of fresh water.

29th. On the 29th in the forenoon, we again made the land. At noon, the latitude was observed 49° 28′ N. At half past one in the afternoon, Captain Cook stood for an opening in the land bearing from us ENE. *per* compass, which had the appearance of a harbour. (Variation 19 degrees East.) When we came within five or six miles of the outer points of the opening, we had soundings at 20 fathoms depth; but after passing some breakers and sunken rocks which lay on the larboard hand going in, the depth increased, so that in the entrance we found 50 fathoms. We passed a town of the Americans on the western side of the passage, and some canoes or boats, which were shaped like the Norway yawls, came thence to the ships. In the mean time, as we advanced within the port, to our great disappointment we found the depth continually to increase, and it seemed to us that we were standing into a landlocked and still pool, sheltered from all winds, but unfathomable;

fathomable; where instead of anchoring, we should be obliged to secure our ships to trees (for the land was covered with woods) alongside as smooth a part of the shore as we might be able to find, in like manner as alongside a wharf.

March. Captain Cook in Nootka Sound.

We had sailed four miles within this Sound, and were in the entrance of an inlet which ran North-eastward, when night overtook us, and Captain Cook judged it prudent to anchor, which he did in 86 fathoms depth, and about the same distance from shore, as less dangerous than proceeding in the dark. We, in the Discovery, being less advanced, anchored in 67 fathoms. The bottom at this great depth proved rocky and damaged the cables, but we lay in a calm surrounded by high and steep hills, and with no current of tide other than a quiet and scarcely perceptible stream which drained outward all night. M. de la Perouse afterwards anchored in a port on the same side of *America* but more northward, which has a striking resemblance to the *Sound* in which Captain Cook anchored. He says, 'to form a 'conception of *Port des Français*, imagine a 'basin of a depth in the middle that could not 'be fathomed, bordered by mountains of excessive height. I never saw a breath of air ruffle 'the surface of this water: it is never troubled 'but by the fall of enormous pieces of ice, 'which make a noise in falling that resounds

'far

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1778. March. Captain Cook in Nootka Sound.

'far in the mountains. The air in this place is 'so serene and the silence so profound, that the 'voice of a man, or the croaking of the sea-'birds that lay their eggs in the cavities of the 'rocks, may be heard at half a league distance.' We did not immediately experience the full solemnity of such a solitude; above thirty boats of the natives followed the ships to where they anchored, carrying each from three to seven or eight persons, both men and women. Two or three of the men were observed to have their hair strewed over with small white feathers or down of birds, which stuck on, their hair being rubbed over with grease for the purpose, as powder on pomatum. None of them would on this evening venture within either ship, and some of their boats remained near us on the watch all night.

Early next morning, Captain Cook sent three armed boats to look for more commodious anchorage. At one in the afternoon they returned, having found good harbour about six miles to the North-west; but in the mean time, a small cove was discovered not more than half a mile from the ships, in an island, with good depth of water for anchoring, where there was wood, a convenient fresh watering place, and where no natives resided. There we secured the ships, with a bower anchor in 17 fathoms, and with hawsers fast to the trees on shore; the outer points of the cove bearing ENE. and S $\frac{1}{2}$ E

S ½ E. *per* compass. Higher up within the Sound, the depth of water was above 100 fathoms.

In Nootka Sound.

The name by which the natives called this *Sound* is *Nootka*. The cove in which the ships lay is in latitude 49° 36′ N., longitude 126° 42′ W. The variation of the compass was 19° 30′ North-easterly. Although in this North-east inlet of *Nootka Sound* we found so little run of tide, the perpendicular rise and fall of the water was eight feet nine inches: the time of high water on the new and full moon was 12h. 20m.

April.

The distrust of the natives at the arrival of the ships did not amount to alarm, as in the case of Drake on his first arrival among the people of *New Albion*; and it subsided in a short time. 'The fame of our arrival,' says Captain Cooke, 'brought a great concourse of 'the natives to our ship in the course of this 'day (the third of our being in port), and we 'counted above a hundred of their boats, con-'taining at an average five persons in each.' They now entered the ships freely, were glad to barter, and in general fairly; but during the first week of our being in the harbour, they never failed to leave two or three boats to watch us during the night.

These people were thought rather short of the common European stature. They were well armed with pikes, some headed with bone and many with iron; with bows, the arrows bearded

at

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April. In Nootka Sound.

at the point and the inner end feathered; with slings, knives, and a short club like the patow of the New Zealanders. It was soon discovered that they would steal, at least from us, and iron especially, if they found or could make opportunity; but otherwise they were of quiet and friendly disposition. Captain Cook says, 'docile, 'courteous, and good-natured; but quick in 'resenting what they looked upon as an injury; 'and like most other passionate people, as soon 'forgetting it. I never found these fits of passion 'went farther than the parties immediately con-'cerned, the spectators not troubling themselves 'about the quarrel, whether it was with any of 'us, or amongst their own body; preserving as 'much indifference as if they had known nothing 'of the matter.' This disinclination to interference in disputes not immediately affecting themselves, is not uncommon among uncivilized people; nevertheless, something of a different nature occurred on the third morning of our being in port. A quarrel happened between two natives alongside the Discovery: the cause we could not make out; but the disputants, who were in different canoes, seized each other by the hair with both hands, and held their foreheads hard together, each fearful of his opponent's head being dashed against his face. Most of the other canoes hastened towards the spot, and the people in them began to strip off their garments in readiness to take part in the quarrel, which however

however ended in words, and the plunder of two canoes, which probably was a restitution or recovery, as the rest seemed generally to assent to it.

Their language appeared to me much composed of harsh sounds difficult of utterance. In this opinion, which I give as written down by me at the time, I find I differed from my well-judging friend Mr. Anderson, the Surgeon of Captain Cook's ship. When they were in a passion or very earnest in discourse, their language was evidently inadequate to express their feelings, which they made up for in action, jumping at each other and nodding their heads in a manner that to an unconcerned spectator could not but appear ludicrous. The not being able to vent reproach fluently by speech, naturally increases irritability. To the same cause may perhaps be attributed that the ancient Britons were termed choleric. The first ten numerals of the Nootka people, as given by Captain Cook on Mr. Anderson's authority, and also as they were taken by myself, I produce here, not in support of my opinion, for I think them more smooth and easy of pronunciation than the words of their language in general, but because I have been always pleased with the near agreement, since I first knew of it by the printed voyage. Anderson's, I must observe, are to be esteemed the most correct: he was a man of very patient and nice discrimination.

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1778. April. In Nootka Sound.

Nootka Numerals as taken by

	Mr. Anderson,	by me.
One,	Tsawack	Sowark
Two,	Akkla	Atla
Three,	Katsitsa	Katsa
Four,	Mo, or Moo	Mo
Five,	Sochah	Sochar
Six,	Nospo	Nopo
Seven,	Atslepoo	Atlapo
Eight,	Atlaquolthl	Atlaquash
Nine.	Tsawaquulthl	- - - -
Ten,	Haeeoo	Heyya.

In their public addresses or harangues, of which we witnessed several, all except the person who is speaking, remain silent and quiet, yet without seeming to attend; and when one speaker has finished, another will begin, whilst the former, however violent he may have been in delivering his own oration, sits down with the same apparent indifference, either not listening, or listening without seeming so to do.

The Americans with whom we became first acquainted, were inhabitants of towns or villages on the shores of the Sound we were in. We had seen five of their towns, and many visitors came from them daily to the ships to traffic. They brought variety of skins, and sold to us their garments in wear; and here we became acquainted with the sea-otter skins. They brought also their weapons and articles of their furniture

to

to sell, which we esteemed as curiosities, many of them being wrought with great neatness. They supplied us with fish when we did not catch sufficient to supply ourselves, for which they at first took cutlery or any trinket of European manufacture we chose to give, but preferring iron.

On the 4th of April, at 11 in the forenoon, a sudden alarm appeared among all the Americans in or near either ship, and they hastened on shore to our watering place, where they hauled their canoes up on the land, and some among them who were unprovided with weapons, fell to work to make wooden clubs and spears, and to collect stones. A small boat had been stationed to watch at each of the outer points of the cove in which the ships lay, and communications made from them caused the alarm and these preparations. After some time, about a dozen large boats full of men made their appearance coming round the South point of the *cove*, as from without the *sound*. These people were all armed, and many of them had skin habits, long and loose, made much in the manner of a carman's frock without the sleeves, being sewed at the sides, and having separate openings for the arms. At the entrance of the cove they made a halt, and the boats ranged themselves in regular order. Captain Cook ordered all work on board the ships to be discontinued, and the ships companies to be under arms. Our waterers

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and wood-cutters on shore were also ordered to assemble on a rock where the astronomer's tents were erected. In this state, we dined under arms, the new comers all the while remaining off the entrance of the cove, and our early American friends on shore. It was possible that the two parties who appeared to take such precautions against each other, might be practising a deception; or if not, that negligence on our part might have suggested to them some such understanding: but from all that passed at the time and afterwards, we saw no cause to believe that treachery was intended. After dinner, we went on with our work guardedly, till three in the afternoon, when the boats of the outer party drew near to the watering place, and we again took to our arms. A parley ensued between the two parties, which produced an accommodation; for the men on each side took off their war dresses, the skin garments before mentioned, some of which were twofold, for defence against arrows and spears; and the stranger party retired from the cove without coming alongside either of the ships. The intent of their visit Captain Cook observes, was doubtless to share in the advantages of a trade with us, whilst our first friends, the inhabitants of the *Sound*, were willing to engross us entirely to themselves. 'It ap-'peared that those who lived in the *sound* were 'not all united in the same cause, for the weaker 'were frequently obliged to give way, and were 'sometimes

'sometimes plundered of every thing, without 'attempting to make the least resistance.'

1778. April. Nootka Sound.

In the afternoon, the head of the Resolution's fore-mast was discovered to be so much decayed, as to require being taken out for repair.

At daylight on the 5th, a number of boats entered the cove from the outer part of the sound, and came to the ships, leaving a boat at the entrance to watch. At 7, in consequence of signals from the watch-boat, they quitted the ships and drew up without the cove. A stronger party from the northward soon appeared, which stopped near the middle of the cove, and single small boats passed and repassed between them; after which they saluted each other with a song, and the southern boats departed, leaving the market to the quiet possession of the northern party. Their songs were given in turn, the party singing having their pikes erected: when the first finished, they laid down their pikes, and the other party reared theirs. What they sung was composed of few notes, and wild as could have been expected, yet was solemn and in unison, and what I thought most extraordinary, they were all well in tune with each other. The words were at times given out by one man, as a parish clerk gives out the first line of a psalm.

We had been accustomed, in our late navigation between the tropics, to find dark or copper coloured natives; and we at first thought the Nootka people to be of the like complexion;

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but we afterwards discovered through the paint, grease, and dirt, under which their skins had been concealed, that they were a white people.

On the 8th and 9th, it blew a heavy gale of wind from the eastward, which being directly into the cove, we carried out another anchor. We had hitherto had here fine weather and much calm. Whilst this gale continued, mountainous land which was to the eastward of us made us experience by turns, perfect calms and excessively heavy squalls. In one of these flurries, the head of the Resolution's mizen-mast broke off, by the stress of the top-mast above it. Captain Cook remarks that the cove in which we lay, 'is 'covered from the sea, but is exposed to the 'South-east winds, which blow with great vio-'lence, and the devastation they sometimes 'make, was apparent in many places.'

A new mizen mast was necessary to the Resolution, and here were good trees for the purpose. On the 18th, the Resolution got her foremast in, and two or three days after, her new mizen-mast. On the 20th, two old-fashioned silver table-spoons, which we supposed to have been Spanish, were purchased of the Americans alongside the Resolution, for a pewter wash-hand bason. These things, as well as iron and brass which we saw among them, it must be concluded they procured by their intercourse with other tribes, for it is satisfactorily ascertained, and corroborated by their being perfectly unacquainted with fire-

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fire-arms, that the people of *Nootka* had not, previous to our visit, had direct communication with Europeans. Captain Cook has related the following anecdote: 'They were not startled at the 'report of a musket, till one day, upon endea- 'vouring to prove to us that arrows and spears 'would not penetrate their war-dresses, one of 'our gentlemen shot a musket ball through one 'of them folded six times. At this, they were 'so much staggered that their ignorance of fire- 'arms was plainly seen. This was afterwards 'confirmed when we used them to shoot birds, 'the manner of which confounded them.'

On the 22d, the Resolution's pinnace and our great cutter went to the town on the West side of the entrance into the *Sound*, partly for the purpose of cutting grass for a few goats and sheep we had on board. This town stands at the back of a sandy beach, in the bottom of a fine little cove in which is excellent anchorage. The town consisted of two rows of houses, one behind the other in a line with the water side. The houses were built with wood, each being one extensive apartment, but only seven or eight feet high within, and one side a little higher than the other, the roof or covering, being loose broad planks lying across from side to side, which they move occasionally, to admit light or shut out weather. One of the houses had three large spars or trunks of trees placed lengthways, on which the roofing boards rested,

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the middle one being stout enough for the main-mast of a large ship, and supported at one end by an enormous and well-carved image of a man's head. The women were employed in making flaxen or woollen garments, and in preparing fish for drying. Great quantities of sprats were hanging up in their houses for the benefit of the smoke; and the persons of the Nootka people had at this time a peculiar scent which is contracted by feeding on those fish. At the back of the town was a large plantation of cherry trees, gooseberry and currant bushes, raspberry and strawberry plants, but unluckily for us, none of them were in season. Captain Cook estimated the number of inhabitants in this town at two thousand. The boats on the beach were counted ninety-five. The grass we wished to cut was not of the smallest use to the Americans, but immediately they comprehended that we had occasion for it, they considered it as an article of trade, and obliged Captain Cook to purchase it, rather at an extortionate rate; yet their reception of us at their town, and their behaviour, was very hospitable, and they seemed to be at more pains to avoid giving cause of offence, than when in their canoes alongside the ships.

Captain Cook remarks here, 'I have no where 'else in my several voyages, met with uncivi-'lized people who had such strict notions of 'their right to the exclusive property of every 'thing

1778. April. Nootka Sound.

'thing their country produces, as the inhabi-
'tants of this *Sound*. At first, they wanted our
'people to pay for the wood and water they
'carried on board. If I had been on the spot,
'I certainly should have complied with their
'demands. Our workmen thought differently,
'and took little notice of their claims. The
'natives, when they found that no payment
'would be made, ceased to apply.' This is connected with another circumstance. They were immediately after, earnest in their inquiries by signs, if we came as friends, or whether we intended to settle among them? signifying to us at the same time, that they had given us wood and water out of friendship. When they were satisfied that we had no intention of settling in this their country, it seemed to confirm them in friendship towards us.

On the 24th, being ready for sea, the tents were struck, and every thing belonging to the ships taken on board. The wood here is mostly pine, and being full of turpentine, consumes fast, on which account we took as much on board as we could well stow.

On the 25th, we cast off some of our shore-fasts and took up one anchor, but the wind being unsteady, we were obliged to lay fast till next day. Whilst the anchor was heaving up, the natives that were in the cove expecting the ships would sail, assembled in their boats to sing us a parting song, in which they flourished the swords,

saws,

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saws, hatchets, and other things they had obtained of us. One man mounted on a stage of loose boards, which was supported by the people in the nearest canoes or boats, danced with a wooden mask on, which he occasionally changed, making himself resemble sometimes a man, sometimes a bird, and sometimes an animal. Of these masks, they have great variety, and they parted with them willingly, except those of the human face. If they sold any of these, it seemed to be with some repugnance, as if they were parting with the image of a friend or relation, and were ashamed to be seen so doing.

26th. The next day, the weather was doubtful, indeed threatening, for the barometer fell unusually low; 'but my anxious impatience,' says Captain Cook, 'to proceed upon the voyage, and the fear 'of losing the opportunity of getting out of the 'Sound, making a greater impression on my mind 'than any apprehension of immediate danger, 'I determined to put to sea at all events.'

Many natives attended us, some on board the ships and some in their boats, till we were almost clear of the *Sound*, and we parted mutually with the most friendly feelings towards each other, which our excellent commander has related in terms of warm satisfaction.

We were scarcely clear of the land when the wind, which was from the SE, increased to a strong gale, with dark weather, and made it necessary, being on an unknown coast, to get an offing.

1778.

Captain Cook on the NW. coast of America.

May.

offing. This occasioned us to pass, without being able to examine, the part where was said to be a strait discovered by Admiral de Fonte. On the abatement of the gale, we stood in for the land, which we made on the 1st of May, in latitude 55° 20′, and longitude 134° W, not far distant from the part of the coast where Tschirikow had anchored. 'I regretted,' Captain Cook says, 'that I could 'not make the land sooner, for though I gave 'no credit to so improbable a story as the disco-'very of de Fonte, I wished to have kept the 'American coast aboard in order to clear up this 'point.'

The business proposed by the British Admiralty in this expedition to the North, was to ascertain the northern limits of the American continent, the doing or attempting which it was hoped would afford a chance of discovering a passage or water communication from the *Pacific* to the *Atlantic*. It was similar to the purpose which brought Drake, the great navigator of his day, to the coast of *New Albion*. The instructions given to Captain Cook, evince that the Admiralty entertained no great opinion of the probability of a passage through the heart of the American continent to the West coast. They say, 'You are to endeavour to fall in with the 'coast of *New Albion* in latitude 45° N. You are 'to put into the first convenient port to recruit 'your wood and water, and then to proceed 'northward along the coast as far as to the 'latitude

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1778. May. Captain Cook on the NW. coast of America.

'latitude of 65°, or farther if not obstructed by 'land or ice; taking care not to lose any time in 'exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other ac- 'count, until you get into the before-mentioned 'latitude of 65°, where we could wish you to 'arrive in the month of June.' In the same summer that Captain Cook left *England*, and before he sailed, the British Admiralty sent a brig named the Lion, under the command of a Lieutenant, on a reconnoitring voyage to the western coast of *Baffin's Bay*, meant as preparatory to another expedition; the officer commanding the Lion not being required to attempt the discovery of a passage, but to be careful to secure his return to *England* in the fall of the year. He was directed 'to explore the coasts of '*Baffin's Bay* to enable him to bring back the 'same year, information which might be useful 'towards planning an intended voyage to that 'Bay the ensuing summer to try for the discovery 'of a passage on that side, with a view to co- 'operate with Captain Cook who it was supposed 'would be trying for this passage about the same 'time from the opposite side, of *America*.' The expedition to *Baffin's Bay* to endeavour to compleat the discovery was undertaken in the ensuing year, in the same brig Lion, commanded by Lieutenant Young. If Captain Cook and Lieutenant Young each succeeded, there would be a likelihood of their meeting, and the place of their meeting, it was conjectured, would be in a sea

to

to the North of the main land or continent of *America*.

1778. May. Captain Cook on the NW. coast of America.

When Captain Cook made the land again on the 1st of May, the wind blew fresh from the southward. To have endeavoured to return that way to look for de Fonte's discoveries, would have been a great sacrifice of time and opportunity for an object of which few have entertained a better opinion than Captain Cook did; and besides, we had yet before us if the account of de Fonte was true, his *River Bernarda*.

4th. Mount St. Elias.

May the 4th, at 4 in the morning, we first saw the summit of *Mount Saint Elias*, distant from us, as was afterwards calculated, 46 leagues. All that day we mistook it for an island, and supposed it some leagues from the continent. From its height above the horizon when first seen, it must be visible in clear weather many leagues farther.

From abreast *Mount Saint Elias* the continental coast lay in a direction West with scarcely any thing of northerly. On the 12th, six degrees of longitude to the West of *Mount St. Elias*, we came to a cape where the coast turned short to the North, and three leagues beyond (to the West) was high land which extended southward, and appeared like an island, as we afterwards found it. Between this western land and the Cape, no land was seen to the North, which gave us some hope that here would be found the western termination of *America*. In the afternoon we anchored

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1778. May. Captain Cook on the NW. coast of America. Cape Hinchinbroke.

chored in the entrance of a harbour close under the Cape, to which Captain Cook gave the name of *Cape Hinchinbroke.* The same evening, two large boats in which were about twenty Americans, came to the ships. They reminded us in many respects of the people of *Nootka,* and in some they greatly differed. They would not trust themselves on board with us, but made signs of friendship by hallooing and standing with their arms extended. Some of them had their heads powdered with down or small feathers, a custom in which the *Nootka* people were so particular and curious that they had machines for throwing the down into the hair, exactly after the manner of our powder puffs. These people sang to us in the Nootka manner; and when the large boats departed, they left a small boat paddled by two men, which remained near the ship till daylight.

The clothing of the natives here, as of the Nootka people, consisted of skins, and garments coarsely made of coarse flax, with chip or wicker hats; but the greater severity of the climate here had taught them to use boots, handskoons, and sleeves to their jackets; and a mark which distinguished these people from every other known, was their under lips being perforated, or slit through, in a line parallel to the mouth, and about three quarters of an inch lower, through which they wore pieces of carved bone; and sometimes, which had a hideous effect, they would remove

remove the bone ornament, and thrust as much as they could of their tongue through the opening. Their speech was more rapid and indistinct than that of the Nootka people.

In the forenoon of the 13th, we took up our anchors and sailed through the opening to the northward. We soon saw land in every direction, but it appeared disjointed, with many projecting points, and openings forming deep inlets. At 9 in the evening we anchored near the South shore of an inlet which led in a north-easterly direction, the termination of which we did not see. Latitude here 60° 44′ N. Long. 147° W. Variation of the compass 27° 50′ E. 13th. Prince William's Sound.

Some American boats went alongside the Resolution, and early in the morning of the 14th, two Americans in a small canoe came to the Discovery. Only four people were walking her deck, upon which they went to the Resolution and gave the information to their countrymen, who all immediately left that ship and repaired to the Discovery. On seeing their boats coming, the officer on deck ordered the full watch to come up, but before the order was obeyed, an American from their foremost boat entered the ship, and commenced work by throwing the rudder of the jolly boat, which he found in his way, overboard for the people in the boats to pick up. One of our men offered to stop him, but he drew a long knife from under his skin garment, and at the same time laid hold of a tin pot. Other Americans 14th.

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1778. May. Captain Cook in Prince William's Sound.

ricans had entered the ship, but with no concerted plan of attack, and merely to plunder; for they began endeavouring to knock the iron hoops off the casks. On the appearance of our men coming up the hatchway ladder with cutlasses, they desisted, and seeing our numbers increase, hastened into their boats, the man who first entered, relinquishing his second prize, and describing how much longer our knives were than theirs, by holding one of his arms at full length.

The Resolution had sprung a leak since leaving *Nootka*, and the wind this morning blew too fresh for proceeding in the examination of the inlet; Captain Cook therefore took this opportunity to give his ship a heel to come at the leak,

15th. in which state she lay all the 15th.

The Americans this day gave a proof of their perfect conviction that we intended them no injury. On the weather mending, many of their boats came to the ships, most of them small, having one or two men; but in one large boat were twenty women, besides children, and only one man. This was a visit wholly of curiosity, for they entered into no traffic with us.

16th. On the 16th, the Resolution's leaks were repaired and the ship righted. In the mean time, clear weather had given opportunity by boat excursions to ascertain that the inlet we were in afforded no thoroughfare eastward.

In answer to inquiries, which we made by signs, we understood from the natives that there were

were two ways to the sea; the one South, the other North-west, and that the latter would take two days and two nights to come by it to the open sea. Their method of communicating this intelligence was, by turning round with their hands closed, and opening them only in the direction of the passages. The northern passage they explained to us to be round a point of land then seen from the ship, and which bore N. 78° W. *per* compass.

The country here produced plenty of wood, chiefly moderate sized firs. Wild geese and ducks we saw in great numbers, but they were not easily come at.

On the morning of the 17th, we weighed and stood North-westward. At two in the afternoon, the wind being from the North and unsteady, we anchored just within the entrance of an inlet which branched in different directions northerly, and Captain Cook sent Lieutenant Gore, and Mr. Roberts, one of the mates of the Resolution, in two boats to examine one of the arms of the inlet; and Mr. Bligh, the master, to examine another. At midnight the boats returned. Mr. Bligh reported that the arm he had been ordered to examine, communicated with a part of the sound we had already seen. 17th.

Respecting the other arm, Lieutenant Gore and Mr. Roberts differed in opinion, the lieutenant thinking it would afford a passage to the North, and Mr. Roberts that he had seen a termination to it. We had noticed an odd irregu-

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1778. May.

larity in the tide. In the forenoon as we entered this northern inlet, the flood tide set us to the North; and in the afternoon we found the ebbing tide setting to the North. Among such broken land where many different channels communicate and their tides mix with each other, no certain conclusion can be formed relative to their continuance or termination from the irregularities which were observed.

Captain Cook would not risk wasting the season in searching these intricate channels, as, if there was a passage here northward, he would most probably arrive at its northern outlet, though in a more circuitous manner, by standing out to sea. The wind being favourable, on the morning of the 18th, he got under sail and stood to the southward. The next day we were out of this small mediterranean sea, in the examination of which we had spent a week. Mr. Goldson, in his treatise on the tracks of Maldonado and de Fonte, has supposed this to be Maldonado's *Strait of Anian*. Captain Cook intended to have named it after the Earl of Sandwich, to which end, the Cape at the eastern entrance was called *Cape Hinchinbroke*, and the Island between the two passages, *Montagu Island*; but afterwards, he gave to the whole the name of *Prince William's Sound*.

18th.

19th.

Montagu Island.

We pursued the coast westward, which was found to take a southerly direction as described by Bering and Tschirikow. The winds were westerly and we advanced but slowly. On the 23d,

23d.

we

1778. May. Captain Cook on the NW. coast of America.

we again came to a point of land where the coast turned short to the North as at *Cape Hinchinbroke*; high land was also seen to the West and South-west, and none in the opening to the North, which was considerably wider than the passage by which we entered *Prince William's Sound*. Here we had reason to expect the continent terminated westward, and Captain Cook directed his course to the North between the two lands.

Land extending northward was soon seen to join the western land, on discovery of which Captain Cook became immediately apprehensive that we were running into an inlet where no thoroughfare would be found. It was 15 leagues wide at the entrance, and therefore not to be left unexamined. 'I made search here,' Captain Cook says, 'to satisfy others, more than to confirm my own opinion.'

Cook's River or Inlet.

This proved to be a large river; or it might properly be described an arm of the sea leading to the mouths of two rapid rivers, which fell into a bay at the head of the arm or gulf. Captain Cook sent boats into both these rivers. One pointed to the North and NNE. At the entrance where it fell into the bay it was a league broad, with 17 to 20 fathoms depth; but during the ebb tide the water was perfectly fresh. The other river fell into the bay from the East. Captain Cook named it *Turnagain River*. During the ebb tide, the water in it 'was considerably fresher 'than the sea water, yet retained a considerable

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1778. May. In Cook's River.

'degree of saltness,' from which circumstance it is probable that here is the channel of communication with the sea from *Prince William's Sound*, which the natives there intimated to us.

Here was evidently no passage for us to the North, and Captain Cook hastened out to sea again. The examination of this inlet, with our return out of it, occupied us eleven days.

June.

Captain Cook did not give any name to this inlet or river; and by the Earl of Sandwich's direction afterwards, it was named *Cook's River*.

We proceeded westward, keeping near the land, with winds mostly westerly. The coast was irregular, with frequent breaks and openings, so that though we saw an apparent contiguity of land, we could not be certain of the fact; but no doubt was entertained, from what was known to us of the discoveries of the Russians, that the most western extension of this part of *America* could not be far distant. We passed within several islands, between them and the main or continental land, and in this part of our navigation, on the evening of the 19th, we saw a large fire lighted on a headland, and soon after, some small canoes came from shore to alongside the Discovery, in one of which a man held up a packet or parcel. A rope was thrown to him, to which he fastened the packet. It was a small wooden box, and contained a note written in characters not intelligible to us, except the dates 1776 and 1778; but we imagined them to be Russian

19th.

Russian. Captain Clerke went with the note to Captain Cook, who was of opinion that they were notices left by Russian traders, to be delivered to their countrymen who next came this way. Two days afterwards, a boat from an island we were passing, went alongside the Resolution, in which was an American native, who wore a cloth jacket and breeches under his skin frock.

1778. June. Captain Cook on the N.W. coast of America.

We were among rocky islands; and on the 25th, the wind being easterly and moderate, but with a thick fog, Captain Cook, in the beginning of the night hauled on a wind to the South, and having increased our offing, it was thought, nine miles, he ordered the course West again. At 5 in the morning, of the 26th, we heard a noise to the SW. like that of a surf beating against rocks. Finding sounding at the depth of 20 fathoms, both ships clewed up all their sails and cast anchor. At 7 the fog cleared away, and we found that we were within half a mile of the East side of a large island, with many rocks about us in different directions. Captain Cook sent two boats on shore, and we learnt that this was one of the *Aleutian* or *Fox Islands*, named by the natives *Nowan Alascha*, or *Oonalashka*. On the 28th, we anchored in a small harbour named *Samgonoodha*, in the North eastern part of the Island.

26th.

Oonalashka Island. 28th. In Samgonoodha harbour.

Between *Oonalashka* and the Island next to the North-east of it, we had found a tide extremely rapid; but in *Samgonoodha* harbour, the

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1778. July. Captain Cook on the West coast of America.

tide was inconsiderable, the rise and fall being not four feet, and the time of high water very irregular. Here were inhabitants, not numerous, and we perceived many marks of their having intercourse with the Russians. Both ships completed their water, and on the 1st of July, weighed anchor. Having little wind, our boats were sent a-head to tow; but before we were clear of the harbour, a breeze sprung up from the NNW. and a thick fog came on, which obliged us to anchor again, and the remainder of the day the greater part of both the ship's companies were employed on shore in gathering water cresses, celery, purslain, the tops of wild pease which we found very good when boiled, and other wild herbage. The next morning early, we got under sail and stood out to sea North, in which direction no land was seen. The nearest land North-eastward from *Qonalashka*, we found to be islands.

When we had sailed about three leagues from *Samgonoodha*, land opened to the North of the islands, bearing *per* compass N. 46° E. (the variation 20½° easterly), which we recognized to be a cape we had before seen, and we now regarded it as the western termination of the American continent.

In the published account of the voyage, the bearings of land are in general set down with the variation allowed, which is not sufficiently specified, and therefore necessary to notice, lest the reader on comparing with it what is here written,

1778. July. Captain Cook. Coast of America.

might be at a loss to what to attribute the difference; and also, the compasses in the two ships differed here above half a point. On board the Resolution, "the South-west point of the "continent opened off the North-east point of "*Acoötun Island*, in the direction of N. 60° E. It "is called by the people of these parts *Oonemak*, "and lies in latitude 54° 34′ N. and in longitude "195° 30′ E.* Over the cape is a round elevated "mountain." Captain Cook directed the course that way, and we ran along the North side of the land which we had before coasted on the South side, the two coasts being nearly parallel, forming a long peninsula. We traced the northern coast of this peninsula with much satisfaction whilst it continued in a North-easterly direction, as it seemed to lead us homeward.

Oonemak promontory.

The *Oonemak Peninsula* is remarkable for its high mountains. At one time we saw four all very distant from each other, every one of which we had noticed whilst sailing by the southern coast. This side, like the other, shewed many openings, and probably there are passages through; but to our future progress they could be of no import.

On the 4th and 8th, we had calm weather, and caught so great a quantity of cod and flat fish, that Captain Cook ordered both the ships' companies

* Misprinted 192° 30′. *Third Voyage of Captain Cook.* 2d Edition.

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panies for a time to be on two-thirds allowance of salt meat.

1778. July. Captain Cook on the coast of America.

As we proceeded to the North East, the depth of water gradually decreased, which was no good sign; and on the 9th we found the coast take a more northerly direction. At nine degrees of longitude East of the western Cape of the Peninsula, it turned directly North, and shortly after (in latitude 58° 30′) it projected out nearly West to a Cape which was named *Cape Newenham*. We came on the 16th to this Cape, the Bay between which and the *Oonemak Cape* was named *Bristol Bay*.

Cape Newenham.

Bristol Bay.

Shoals north of Cape Newenham.

At *Cape Newenham*, the coast took a northern direction, with shallow water near it. After following it, sailing among shoals and banks something more than twenty leagues, great part of the time in depth less than ten fathoms, and sometimes under five, with boats always a-head, it was found necessary for safety to sail back southward as far as to *Cape Newenham*, and then to stand off westward from the land. When we had so deepened our soundings to 20 fathoms, Captain Cook would have resumed a north course; but the wind came from the North and NNE, and he was obliged to continue westward, and the depth increased to 40 fathoms. As soon as the wind permitted, the course was again shaped North-eastward.

August. Death of Mr. William Anderson.

On the afternoon of the 3d of August died Mr. William Anderson, Surgeon of the Resolution,

tion, to the great regret of every person in both ships. He was a well informed man, humane and attentive in his profession. His age is not noted, but he could scarcely have completed his thirtieth year. His descriptions botanical and in natural history have enriched Captain Cook's account of this voyage. Captain Cook, with whom he had sailed as surgeon's chief mate in the voyage in search of a southern continent, entertained a high opinion of him in all respects, and has pronounced his eulogy. An island which was discovered the same afternoon, was named *Anderson's Island.*

Mr. Anderson, and Captain Clerke, my Commander in the Discovery, had been in a declining state the last twelve months. When the ships were at *Otaheite* (in August 1777) Anderson represented to Captain Clerke their inability to encounter the severities of a frozen climate, and they mutually agreed to ask leave of Captain Cook to resign their situations, that they might remain where they were, and trust themselves to the care of the natives, as the only hope left them of being restored to health. When the time approached for the ships to sail, Captain Clerke's papers and accounts were not in order; and as we were bound next to *Huaheine*, one of the *Society Islands*, it might answer their purpose as well to quit the ship there as at *Otaheite*. At *Huaheine*, the same thing happened, and the execution of their plan was deferred to our going to

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to *Ulietea*, the next island. At *Ulietea*, the ships remained above a month; but that time did not suffice Captain Clerke for the settlement of his accounts. As Captain Cook proposed to stop at *Bolabola*, the last of the *Society Islands*, Mr. Anderson consented to the postponement of their intention to our arrival at that place; and there I believe Captain Clerke, if the opportunity had not failed, would have really landed and settled. All this, just as I relate it, I had from Mr. Anderson about a month before his decease. We arrived at *Bolabola*, but from unsteadiness of the wind, missed getting into the harbour, and did not anchor. On the evening of the same day, we sailed away, taking our final departure from the *Society Islands*. At the *Sandwich Islands* to which we afterwards came, the natives were strangers to us, and appeared less civilized than the Society islanders; and as we fell in with them unexpectedly, no previous arrangement of the kind had been thought of by either.

As we ran to the NE. we decreased our soundings to 11 fathoms before we regained sight of what we regarded as the continental land of *America*, which we did on August the 4th, in latitude 64° 30′ N.

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Captain Cook *through* Bering's Strait, *and in the* Sea *North of the* Strait.

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1778. August. 4th.

WE were here so near *Bering's Strait* as to be within the influence of currents setting either way through; but of this we had to gain the knowledge, as well as of the *Strait* itself, for the charts in our possession, among which was the chart to Muller, placed the two continents five degrees of longitude (42 leagues) apart. In the evening of the 4th (of August) the wind failing, the ships anchored, the Resolution in 13 fathoms, we in 16, soft sandy bottom, 6 or 7 miles from the land, and about 3 leagues to the eastward of a small but tolerably high island. Captain Cook remarks 'Whilst we lay at 'this anchorage, the flood tide came from the 'East till between ten and eleven o'clock. 'From that time till two the next morning, the 'stream set to the eastward, and the water fell 'three feet. The flood ran both stronger and 'longer than the ebb, from which I concluded 'that besides the tide, here was a westerly cur-'rent.'* On board the Discovery, it was remarked

* *Captain Cook's Voyage for making discoveries in the northern hemisphere.* Vol. II. p. 440. 2d edition.

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1778. August. 5th. Captain Cook on the coast of America.

marked, that during the ebb, the stream eastward was barely perceptible, and the ship rode according to the wind; but to the western tide the ship tended, and it ran from two in the morning till nine, when we got under sail. At noon, we anchored between the main land and the island above mentioned, in seven fathoms. A tide or current was running westward at the rate of two knots. Captain Cook landed on the island, and on account of a sledge found there, though we saw no inhabitants, he named it *Sledge Island*. From noon to half past eight in the evening, the stream continued to set to the West and WNW. at the rate of nearly two knots. It then slacked, and the ship lay wind rode till midnight, when the tide and current again ran to the WNW.

Sledge Island.

9th. At three in the morning, we weighed anchor and proceeded, following the coast North-westward, in soundings mostly under ten fathoms. On the evening of the 8th, we anchored in 19 fathoms, gravelly bottom, a low projecting point which was the western extreme of the main land in sight, bearing from us *per* compass N 9° E. (the variation 25° 10′ easterly,) distant 6 or 7 miles. It was calm during the night. From the time of our anchoring to midnight, we found a current running NNW. at the rate of three knots. From midnight till four in the morning it continued to set NNW. but at the diminished rate of two knots and two fathoms. After four, it ran,

8th.

In Bering's Strait.

ran, still in the same direction, again at the rate of three knots.

1778. August. Cape Prince of Wales.

The *Cape* near to which we were at anchor, was more westward than the *Oonemak Peninsula*, and therefore regarded as the western extremity of all *America* hitherto known. Captain Cook named it *Cape Prince of Wales*. It is situated in latitude 65° 45′ N. and longitude 168° 18′ W.

I imagine we laid here in the full strength of the current, and allowing the abatement to be an effect of the tide, the rate of the current may be estimated at two knots five fathoms *per* hour; and the rate of the tide at three fathoms, being the half difference of the greater and less rapidity of the stream.

9th.

At half past eight in the morning, we got under sail with a light breeze at North, but the wind soon freshened to a gale, and being contrary to the current, raised so much sea that it frequently broke into the ship. As we plied to windward, about noon we saw the small islands in the *Strait*, and at 7 in the evening, the coast of *Asia*, concerning which we had at first some doubt, as according to a Map in Sthælin's account of the islands between *Kamtschatka* and *America*, this might have been the eastern side of an island *Alaschka* there laid down. The small islands, and some other particulars observed, in a short time convinced us that the land to the West was continental; and the next forenoon at ten Captain Cook anchored in a Bay of the Tschutzki country.

Coast of Asia.

On

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1778. August. 10th. Bay of Saint Lawrence. Tschutzki natives.

On the north side of the bay was a village of the natives, and as the ships stood in, we saw people with burthens on their back hastening inland over the hills, and they appeared to us to be women and children. Captain Cook went with three boats well armed, and landed at the village. His account of this visit is very interesting, and is here copied. 'About forty men 'armed each with a spontoon, bow and arrows, 'stood drawn up on a rising ground close by 'the village. As we drew near, three of them 'came down towards the shore, and were so 'polite as to take off their caps, and to make us 'low bows. We returned the civility, but it did 'not inspire them with confidence to wait our 'landing, and they retired. I followed them 'alone, without any thing in my hand, and by 'signs prevailed on them to stop and receive 'some small presents. In return, they gave me 'two fox skins and two sea-horse teeth. I cannot 'say whether they or I made the first present, 'for it appeared to me that they had brought 'down these things for the very purpose, and 'that they would have given them without any 'return. They seemed very cautious, and ex-'pressed their desire by signs that no more of 'our people should come up. On laying my 'hand on the shoulder of one of them, he started 'back several paces, and they were always in the 'attitude of being ready to make use of their 'spears, and those on the rising ground kept in 'readiness

1778. August. The Tschutzki.

'readiness to support them with their arrows. 'Insensibly however, myself and two or three 'of my companions, got amongst them, and a few 'beads distributed, created a kind of confidence, 'so that they were not alarmed when more of 'our people joined us, and by degrees a small 'traffic between us commenced. For knives, 'beads and tobacco, they gave some of their 'clothing, and a few arrows, but nothing we 'offered would induce them to part with a spear 'or a bow. These they held in constant readi- 'ness, except at one time, when four or five 'persons laid theirs down while they gave us 'a song and a dance; and they then placed them 'in such a manner that they could lay hold of 'them in an instant, and for security they desired 'us to sit down during the dance.'

'All the Americans we had seen since our 'arrival on that coast, were rather low of stature, 'with round chubby faces and high cheek bones. 'The people we now were amongst, had long 'visages and were stout and well made. Several 'things, and in particular their clothing, shewed 'a degree of ingenuity surpassing what one could 'expect among so northern a people. Their 'dress consisted of a cap, frock, breeches, boots, 'and gloves, all made of leather or skins, ex- 'tremely well dressed, some with the fur on, 'some without. The quivers which contained 'their arrows were some of red leather, neatly 'embroidered, and extremely beautiful. We

'saw

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'saw neither their women nor children. With 'them was one aged man, who carried no arms.'

1778. August. The Tschutzki.

Captain Cook remained on shore two or three hours. The Tschuktzki sold our people salmon, of which they appeared to have plenty, and a small river ran close by their village. They had blue glass beads, and took tobacco and snuff in exchange for some of their clothes. Many of their pikes were headed with iron, and inlaid with some other metal. In several places stood a kind of scaffolding, supposed to be for drying fish out of the reach of their dogs, of which they had a great number. Some dogs just killed were lying on the ground, which seems to have been a propitiatory sacrifice.

The bay in which we anchored, Captain Cook named the *Bay of St. Lawrence*. Soon after returning to the ship, we got under sail, a breeze having sprung up from the South, with fair weather. We stood over to the North-east, Captain Cook proposing to prosecute his examination along the American coast. On the 11th at noon, we were nearly midway between the two continents, each being seven leagues distant. We were three or four leagues to the North of the small islands in the *Strait*; our depth of water in this situation was 29 fathoms, which was the deepest soundings we found in *Bering's Strait*.

11th. Through Bering's Strait.

Towards the American coast the water shoaled, and we came into seven fathoms at four leagues distance

distance from shore. The wind falling, we anchored, the nearest point of the continent of *Asia*, bearing *per* compass S. 62° 30′ W.; and *Cape Prince of Wales* S. 10° E. The variation 26° North-easterly. We continued at anchor from six in the evening to nine, during which time there was no current, nor perceptible rise or fall of the sea. It is necessary to remark that we lay here considerably to the eastward of *Cape Prince of Wales*, and less exposed to a northerly current than in the middle of the *Strait:* and this it is much more probable was the case, than that so great an alteration in the current should have taken place in the short space of three days, although by other circumstances afterwards experienced, it appears that the northerly current was at this time on the decline.

August. Captain Cook in the sea North of Bering's Strait.

We proceeded northward near the American coast, which in some parts receded or was remarkably low; for with fair weather and keeping in soundings between 19 and 13 fathoms, a continued line of coast was not seen. A point of the American land, in latitude 67° 45′, Captain Cook named after that distinguished seaman and officer Lord Mulgrave.

On the American side.

Point Mulgrave.

On the 17th, the wind was moderate from the westward, the weather hazy, and our course North-eastward, guided principally by the soundings. At half past ten in the forenoon, we were in 11 fathoms, but did not see the land. The weather becoming squally, the course was directed

17th.

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more northward. At noon we observed in 70° 31′. A brightness was seen in the horizon northward, which was supposed, and which proved, to be the blink of ice. At half past two, we were within a quarter of a mile of a body of ice which extended E b N. and W b S. as far each way as could be seen. Many sea horses were on it.

18th.

The 18th at noon, the latitude was observed 70° 43′ N. We were five leagues farther eastward than on the preceding noon, and close to the body of the ice, 'which was as compact as a 'wall, and seemed to be ten or twelve feet 'high.' * The depth of water was 22 fathoms, the land not in sight, but estimated to be about seven leagues distant. We stood from the ice towards the land, and at half past five had sight of it bearing from SE. to ESE. (the variation three points easterly), distant from us three or four miles. At six, the Discovery had shoaled her depth to $6\frac{1}{4}$ fathoms, and made signal to the Resolution of being in shoal water. The nearest land was then about a league distant. The eastern extreme seen was a low point, much encumbered with ice, and for that reason Captain Cook named it *Icy Cape*; its latitude 70° 29′ N. longitude 161° 42′ W.

Icy Cape.

To get into deeper water, we stood a league to the North, which by compass, with the wind at WNW. was making little better than a NE. course true. At 8 o'clock we were in 8 fathoms. The

* *Captain Cook's third voyage.* II. 454.

1778. August. Captain Cook in the sea North of Bering's Strait.

The body of the ice was in sight from NNW. to NE b N. and was evidently drifting towards the land; for within the last 24 hours our track had gone over parts which the ice now covered. We were in a manner hemmed in by the ice the land and the wind, and were in shoal water; but the breeze was moderate, and the sea smooth. Captain Cook remarks, 'it was evident, that if 'we remained much longer between the ice and 'the land, it would force us ashore, unless it 'should happen to take the ground before us; 'and eastward it seemed nearly to join the land. 'The only open direction was to the South-'west.'

19th. We plied to the westward making short boards between the ice and the land. Frequent flocks of wild ducks and geese were seen, and noticed to be directing their flight to the South. Captain Cook demands, 'does not this indicate that 'there must be land to the North where these 'birds find shelter in the proper season to breed, 'and from whence they were now returning to 'a warmer climate?' This is the first of a number of circumstances noticed, all tending to the same point.

The 19th in the forenoon, we sailed much among loose pieces of ice. In the afternoon, having deepened our soundings to 17 fathoms, we brought to by the edge of a large field of ice, which was remarked to be 'not so compact 'as that we had seen more northward, although 'too close to attempt forcing the ship through.'

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1778. August. Captain Cook in the sea North of Bering's Strait.

This was doubtless part of the same body of ice we first saw; then, 'compact as a wall,' as if recently detached from some coast, and now, perceptibly in an advanced state of dispersion. The whole of the ice seen by us was a moveable mass, and remarked by Captain Cook to consist of loose pieces of various extent, though, at our first falling in with it, so close together that a boat could not without much difficulty enter within the outer edge.

Sea-horses.

Prodigious numbers of sea-horses (the walrus) were on the ice, and boats from each of the ships went to take some. Nine were taken by the boats of the Resolution, and four by those of the Discovery. As food there were few on board who did not prefer them to our salt meat. Whilst fresh killed I thought them very good eating, but after twenty-four hours keeping they became rancid and fishy. We fed upon them, however, as long as they lasted. The flesh should be pressed between two boards with a great weight previous to being cooked, and broiling with pepper is the best mode of dressing it. The weight of a sea-horse, described in Captain Cook's account, was 1,100 lbs. 'They lay in 'herds of many hundreds upon the ice, huddling 'one over the other like swine, and roar or bray 'very loud, so that in night or foggy weather 'they give the first notice of the ice. When 'attacked, the female will defend the young 'one to the very last, and at the expense of 'her own life, whether in the water or upon the

'the ice.' Such instances of natural affection and courage should make the killing these animals, who are also harmless, a subject of some regret. The same observation doubtless will apply to many other animals, who shew no less regard for their young, but is not therefore weakened.

1778. August. Captain Cook in the sea North of Bering's Strait.

The 21st, in the afternoon, there being little wind, a boat was anchored to try if there was any current, and none was found. The month of August was far advanced, and it was evident that nothing more could be done at this time on the American coast. To make as much use as possible of the short remainder of the season, Captain Cook directed the course westward for the coast of *Asia*, keeping as much to the North as the ice would permit.

21st.

At ten o'clock, on the night of the 22d, we heard a noise like a surf. There was but little wind, and we were in 22 fathoms depth. The noise increased, and a swell of the sea got up so much that Captain Cook thought it necessary at midnight to change the course to the South-east. At three in the morning, the noise and the swell subsided, and afterwards the course westward was resumed. What had caused the disturbance was not ascertained, but it was imagined to have been the encounter of different bodies of ice acted on by different currents. The latitude of the ship at the time was 69° 42′ N.

22d.

By the forenoon of the 24th, our soundings

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1778. August. North of Bering's Strait.

had gradually deepened to 28 fathoms. Our latitude was then 69° 30′ N. longitude 169° 19′ W. and distance from the American coast 30 leagues. From this time to noon of the 26th, we continued to the westward with such little variation of the soundings that at no cast of the lead we had greater depth than 29 fathoms or less than 27. In the general formation of sea coasts, the depth of water in the neighbouring sea is in some proportion to the distance from land; or it may be not improperly expressed that they have symmetrical increase or decrease. On the 26th at noon, our latitude was 69° 38′ N. and longitude 176° 40′ W; consequently we had sailed above fifty leagues westward, increasing our distance so much in a direct line from the coast of *America*, and we had not increased the depth as it is usual to do in running from land. The natural inference was, and still remains, that we had sailed in a line parallel to some other coast, which other coast could be situate only to the North of us. Mr. Bayly, our astronomer in the Discovery, was so strongly impressed with this idea, that being on deck when the mate of the watch reported to the Lieutenant the soundings 28 fathoms, a depth which seemed unchangeable, he exclaimed, that there must be land to the North of us, and that we were sailing in a bay or mediterranean sea. Our strong belief in Muller, and nothing else, suppressed this opinion. Captain Cook, in speaking of the soundings in his track from the American

American coast, says, 'as we advanced to the 'West the water deepened gradually to 28 'fathoms, which was the most we had.' The sense conveyed by the last half dozen words is evidently, that in continuing the course to the West, the depth was not found to increase; which explanation I should not have thought necessary if their meaning, or the words themselves, had not escaped the notice of the Quarterly Review.

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The 27th at noon, we still sounded in 28 fathoms, not having altered our situation above a league since the preceding noon. Immediately after, the depth began to decrease, which indicated our approach to land. The next day, we tried if there was current, and found none.

The 29th, we made the coast of Asia, and at noon were within two miles of the land, the depth of water from eight to ten fathoms. Wind fresh from the NW. with rainy weather. The sea-coast near us was low; behind was elevated land, but without trees. The most distant land in sight to the North-west were two hills, which at first appeared like islands, but the nearest of the two was afterwards found to be connected with the main land. The western hill might also be joined to the other by low land, though we did not see it. The western hill was the most northern part of the Asiatic coast seen by us, and Captain Cook named it *Cape North*. Its latitude by the reckoning, for we had no observation on

29th. Coast of Asia.

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1778. August. Coast of Asia. Cape North.

that day noon, was 68° 56′ N, and longitude 179° 11′ W. At 5 PM. we were in 11 fathoms; when *Cape North* bore from us W½N. *per* compass, (variation 26° East), and as the horizon in that quarter was pretty clear, Captain Cook was of opinion that the coast of the continent beyond *Cape North*, would be found to take a very westerly direction, which point he was anxious to ascertain, and we plied to windward under a press of sail all the afternoon and evening. The coast was remarked to appear in every respect like the opposite coast of *America*, low near the sea with elevated land back, and destitute of trees. Between the low borders of the sea and the high land, was observed a lake or body of water, which extended southward as far as could be seen.*

In the night a thick fog came on, accompanied with a fall of snow, and the wind increased, still from the NW. The lateness of the season rendered hopeless our continuing to strive along this shoal coast against unfavourable wind and weather, with the ice closing upon us; and at

30th. two o'clock in the morning of the 30th, Captain Cook bore up to the South-east. 'I did not think 'it consistent with prudence,' he says, 'to make 'farther attempt this year to find a passage into 'the *Atlantic*. My attention was now directed 'how to spend the winter with improvement to 'geography,

* This was probably part of the arm of the sea which in the late charts is named the *Bay of Klutshenic*.

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'geography, and at the same time to be in a 'condition to return to the North in farther 'search of a passage the ensuing Summer.' From *Cape North* we traced the coast of Asia to the SE, generally within four or five miles of the land, and in depth of water between 20 and 14 fathoms. 'The soundings both along this coast 'and along the opposite coast of *America*,' Captain Cook remarks, 'are the same at the same 'distance from the shore. In the night or in foggy 'weather, they are no bad guide along either of 'the shores.'

August. Captain Cook in the sea North of Bering's Strait.

The greatest depth we met with to the North of *Bering's Strait* was 30 fathoms. Near the shores where it did not exceed twenty fathoms, the bottom was sand or gravel, mixed with broken shells. In the deeper part and more distant from land, the bottom was of soft ooze, in which the lead sunk so deep, that the sounding line in common use was not strong enough to disengage it, and we found it necessary to sound with the hand lead to the deep-sea line. We had observed the latitude on the 28th. The four days which next followed, the weather was hazy, and no observation could be taken. On the 2d of September, the latitude was observed 66° 38′, and our latitude by the ship's reckoning, kept from the observation of the 28th, was 66° 44′, being a difference of only six miles in five days navigation; which shews that at this time no northerly current was running; and very little, if any, of

September 2d.

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of southerly, although we had found the ice coming to the South.

September. South of Bering's Strait.

In the evening of the 2d of September, we repassed *Bering's Strait*. The narrowest part of the *Strait* is between two points or capes of land; one, the most eastern known land of *Asia* (the *Tschuktzki Nos* of Deschnew), the other, the most western known land of *America, Cape Prince of Wales*. They are distant from each other thirteen leagues, in the direction of N. 53° W, and S. 53° E, variation allowed.

We continued to sail by the coast of *Asia*, and passed two villages or towns of the Tschuktzki, one of them in the *Bay of St. Lawrence*, at which we had stopped in our way to the North; but at this time, we had no communication with either. On the 4th in the afternoon, the Resolution's boat was put out to try if there was current, and none was found. At eight that evening, the Asiatic coast being seen to turn much westward towards the *Bay of Anadir*, Captain Cook left it, and steered for the American shore, to examine, eastward of *Sledge Island*, a part he had passed without seeing in his passage to the North. He found there a deep bay which he named *Norton Sound*, and it was conjectured that the land on its western side, might be separate from the continent, and answer to Sthælin's Island *Alascha*. We stood into the middle of the sound, where we found not more than four fathoms water, and the same ran all across. Boats were sent to examine

Norton Sound.

examine higher up, and reported at their return, that the *Sound* terminated in a small river, or creek in marshy ground.

We cut spruce, and brewed spruce beer here, and the ships companies had a holiday on shore to gather hurtle and other berries; of which one sort of a dark blue colour, were little inferior to grapes. We found here also, a plant known in *Newfoundland* by the name of Indian tea, which used as such was very palatable.

South of *Norton Sound*, the coast was so shoal, that we were obliged to keep boats sounding before us, and to send them to seek for safe channels by which we might proceed. The danger of being caught by a gale of wind on such a coast, determined Captain Cook to leave it, and on the 20th, from a point of land which he named *Point Shallow-water*, in latitude 63°, he steered off to the westward. And here, closed our first season of northern discovery, a season of unremitting activity. The ability and diligence exercised, will best appear by comparing the Map of the World as it stood previous to this voyage, with the Map of the World drawn immediately after, and by keeping in mind, that the addition of so large an extent of intricate coast, before unknown, was effected by the labour of a single expedition in little more than half a year.

20th. Point Shallow-water.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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Sequel.

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October. At Oonalashka.

ON the 3d of October, we anchored in *Samganoodha* Harbour, where we watered, and caught plenty of fish. On the 7th, a present of salmon-pye baked in rye flour, accompanied with a note in the Russian language, was delivered to each of the Captains, brought by two natives of *Oonalashka* from a distant part of the Island.

Corporal John Ledyard.

On this occasion it was, that John Ledyard, Corporal of Marines in the Resolution, first distinguished himself for enterprise, by volunteering his service to return with the messengers to gain information. Captain Cook accepted his offer, and sent by him a present of some bottles of rum, wine, and porter, and a wheaten loaf, with an invitation to his 'unknown friends.' Ledyard embarked in a small baidar, which was a light skeleton wooden frame tightly covered with whaleskin. It was paddled by two men, for each of whom there was a circular opening in the upper part of the baidar to admit of their being seated, and the lower edge of their skin jacket or frock was then closely fastened to the rim of the opening to prevent the entrance of water, and they appeared as it were hooped in. There was no opening for their passenger Ledyard, and previous

previous to their being both seated he was obliged to dispose himself at his length, or as seamen might express it, to stow himself fore and aft, in the bottom of the baidar between the two, the space allotted him neither in height nor in breadth exceeding twenty inches. The length of the voyage performed by Ledyard, pent up in this slight bark, I understood to be twelve or fourteen miles. At the end of two days he returned to the ship, being better accommodated in his passage home than out, and in company with three Russian traders. These, and other Russians who came to us afterwards, communicated their charts, which gave information concerning many islands in this sea. They also mentioned that an expedition had been made in the *Icy Sea* with sledges, in the year 1773, to some large Islands opposite the *River Kolyma*.

We saw no weapon offensive or defensive among the native inhabitants of *Oonalashka*, on which Captain Cook remarks, that 'it cannot be 'supposed the Russians found them in such 'a defenceless state; but that for their own 'security, they have disarmed them.' The same prudence may be supposed to have been exercised by the Chinese, with regard to the *Lieux chieux* Islanders.

From *Oonalashka* Captain Cook sailed for the *Sandwich Islands*, as a place of refreshment for the ship's companies, and where our stock of provisions could be recruited to enable him to undertake

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undertake another expedition to the North. We came into the parallel of the *Island Atoui* well to the eastward, and by so doing discovered Islands which we had not before seen, but which were of the same group. *Owhyhee*, which is much the largest island of the group, was the most capable of furnishing the ships, and we remained near it from the end of November till the middle of January, all the time under sail, no convenient anchorage being found. The natives came to us daily in their canoes with their provisions to barter. At length we discovered a bay or harbour in the West side of *Owhyhee*, in which the two ships anchored on the 17th of January. On the shore of the bay were three small towns or villages, one of which, *Karakakooa*, has given name to the Bay.

Karakakooa Bay.

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We lay here till the 4th of February, and during that time were largely supplied with provisions, the produce of the Island, in exchange for our European commodities, chiefly iron work and glass beads; that is to say, with hogs, fowls, bread-fruit, cocoa nuts, sugar canes, plantanes, bananas, tarro, yams, and sweet potatoes; which last were of a kind that perhaps it would be more proper to call sweet yams, being of no determinate shape, of all sizes to the weight of twelve or fourteen pounds, and of like consistence with the yam, but something richer. They have a mottled mixture of white and purple in colour, a mild sweetness of taste, and are not inferior to any

any esculent root. Yams will keep much longer, and therefore were more necessary to us as a sea stock, but they were less cultivated at *Owhyhee* than at some of the Islands to leeward, to which Captain Cook therefore purposed making a short visit previous to entering on his second expedition to the North.

4th. Sail from Owhyhee.

We sailed from *Karakakooa Bay* on the 4th of February. On the 8th, we were yet in sight of *Owhyhee*, when it was discovered that the Resolution's fore-mast was defective, and in the same part which had undergone repair at *Nootka Sound*. This unfortunate circumstance occasioned our returning to *Karakakooa Bay*, it being necessary that the mast should be taken out. We had been in the preceding year at the Islands *Atoui* and *Oneehow*, the anchorage at each of which was an open exposed road where was a constant swell of the sea. The other islands to leeward we had not visited, and were uncertain whether anchorage would be found at them; our return to *Karakakooa* therefore was unavoidable, as we knew of no other harbour sufficiently quiet for taking out or getting in a lower mast, and on the 11th, the two ships again anchored in the *Bay*.

11th. Return thither.

The natives came to us with provisions and curiosities to sell as usual, but in fewer numbers. The great concourse which had been attracted had dispersed on the departure of the ships. The next day however canoes arrived fast from other parts, and among them the principal Chief

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or King of the Island, an aged man, named Terrioboo or Kerrioboo, with many followers and attendants. The chiefs were inquisitive to know the reasons of our return, and appeared little satisfied with those we gave. Nothing could be more natural. Captain James King, then Captain Cook's Second Lieutenant, by whom the latter part of the published account of the voyage was written, relates that during the time the two ships were off the coast, or in harbour at *Owhyhee*, the quantity of fresh pork obtained from the islanders, for present consumption, 'was computed at sixty puncheons of 'five hundred weight each: besides which, and 'an incredible waste that in the midst of such 'plenty was not to be guarded against, sixty 'puncheons more were salted for sea store.' Of other articles our supply had been limited to little more than the daily expenditure; but we had remained ten weeks at *Owhyhee*, and it could appear to the natives, as in fact it was, for no other purpose than subsistence; and both our long stay and our return were circumstances sufficient to create uneasiness, and a suspicion that we meditated a settlement. At all events they must have desired a respite from victualling the ships. The principal people or proprietors had received axes and other articles highly valuable to them in return for their provisions; but they had parted with as much as they could afford, or were willing to spare; and their dependants, whether

whether they shared in the gains or not, as well as the whole mass of the people, would have to fare slenderly for no short time, to recover from so great an expence.

Symptoms of their dissatisfaction appeared on our boats going on shore for fresh water: the natives were not, as before, forward to help our seamen to roll the casks along, for which it had been customary to reward them with a glass bead or two. Some of the lower class who offered to assist our men were discouraged or prevented by the Chiefs. Stones also were thrown, and other mischievous tricks played, to disturb the waterers, so as to make it necessary to send a guard of marines with the next boat that went.

In the morning of the 13th, a native on board the Discovery, standing by the armourer who was at work, snatched the tongs out of the forge and jumped overboard with them. Our boat was so quickly manned and after him, that he had only time to deliver the tongs to a canoe in waiting, but not to get in himself. The canoe made off with the tongs, and was not overtaken. The culprit was brought on board the ship where he received a severe flogging, and was afterwards confined in irons. Some of his friends came to Captain Clerke and negociated his release, which was obtained in consideration of the tongs being restored; but in the afternoon the same unlucky tongs were again stolen and

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in exactly the same manner, as if in revenge for the former detection and punishment. Pursuit was immediately made, and the event oddly enough differed from what had before happened; for this time the thief got on shore and escaped, but under so much alarm, that he relinquished his prize, which a native delivered to Mr. Edgar, the master of the Discovery, who went in the pursuing boat. Mr. Edgar seized the canoe of the offender, intending to bring it on board as lawful prize, when one of the principal, and most active, of the Chiefs, named Parreah, who was on board the Discovery and in Captain Clerke's cabin at the time the robbery was committed, of which he was no doubt the contriver, interposed, and claimed the canoe as his property. One of the Resolution's boats had joined ours, and a violent affray ensued, in which, our people, having no arms, were overpowered by numbers, and both the ships boats were plundered of the oars and part of the furniture. Parreah afterwards made the natives return some of the oars, and as the boats were rowing to the ships, he went after and overtook them in a canoe, bringing the cap of Mr. Vancouver, one of our midshipmen, which had disappeared in the fray. He asked if he might go on board the ship the next morning, and whether we should do him hurt for what had happened? Mr. Edgar promised him he should suffer no harm if he came, and they so parted.

The

The day closed with the islanders and us mutually displeased with the other, and to us the circumstances were most vexatious and mortifying, for the islanders had enjoyed something like a triumph, obtained in an unjust cause; which, however, it may be allowed they used with some moderation. Another unpleasant circumstance had occurred, but was to be attributed to the scarcity, which was, that shortly after our second anchoring, a *taboo*, or prohibition, had been laid on certain articles of provision.

The next morning, Sunday the 14th, it was discovered at daylight that the six-oared cutter belonging to the Discovery, which had been moored to the buoy of one of her anchors, was missing, and her fastening was found to have been cut. The boat had been left there full of water to preserve her from being injured by the heat of the sun, which made her gunwale, or upper part, level with the surface of the sea, consequently a dark complexioned man in a dark night, and swimming, might commit the theft without the least danger. There was perhaps something of imprudence in trusting the boat from under the immediate eye of the watch; but it was a theft of which we had not entertained the smallest apprehension. It was well known that the natives would, almost to a man, steal a boat-hook or other loose furniture from a boat, if left in it; but to take the boat

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itself was a robbery of too much magnitude for concealment, and was not liable to be undertaken unless by the order of some principal person.

Captain Cook, when informed of the robbery, desired Captain Clerke to go on shore to the old King, Kerrioboo, to endeavour to prevail on him to use his authority and influence to have the boat restored. Captain Clerke was in too reduced a state of health for so much exertion, and was obliged to excuse himself. Captain Cook then determined on going, but first ordered three boats to stations off the outer points of the bay to prevent the departure of any large sailing canoe, his intention being to make reprisals upon them if he could not recover the Discovery's boat by peaceable means; but they were ordered to give no molestation to the small canoes. A little before eight o'clock, Captain Cook went from the Resolution with three boats, to a village or town named *Kavarooa*, on the north side of the bay, at which Kerrioboo resided. He landed there with Lieutenant Molesworth Phillips of the Marines, Serjeant Gibson, Corporals Thomas and Ledyard, and six private marines, being in the whole eleven persons. The islanders respectfully made a lane for him, and some brought hogs, which they offered to him. On his enquiring for Kerrioboo, two young lads, sons of Kerrioboo, came, and they conducted him to the house in which the old Chief was. He had just awoke, and came out to Captain

Captain Cook, who after some conversation, expressed to Lieutenant Phillips that he was perfectly satisfied that our cutter being stolen was without his privity. He invited Kerrioboo to go and spend the day with him on board the ship, to which Kerrioboo readily consented, and they walked towards the boats, Kerrioboo leaning on Lieutenant Phillips's shoulder. Ka-oowa, the youngest of Kerrioboo's sons, who was a great favourite with Captain Cook, went before, and seated himself in the Resolution's pinnace.

An accident had in the mean time happened in another part of the harbour. The boats placed on guard at the South point, fired muskets to stop a large sailing canoe that was endeavouring to leave the bay. Intending only to make her turn back, without doing her injury, the muskets were aimed over her; but one of the balls unfortunately struck and killed a Chief named Nooenemar, who happened to be on the shore behind the sailing canoe. This was not only unintentional but unknown to our people, till the information was received from two islanders who came to the ships in a small canoe to complain of it to Captain Cook; and learning that he was at the town of *Kavarooa*, thither they went. Kerrioboo had arrived with Captain Cook near the water side, when an elderly woman, the mother of the boys, accompanied by two Chiefs, came after him, and she entreated him with tears not to go on board;

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the two Chiefs at the same time laid hold of him and obliged him to sit down. He appeared irresolute and frightened. This change was undoubtedly caused by the news of Nooenemar's death, of which Captain Cook remained in ignorance, whilst the ferment it occasioned among the natives, some of whom were observed to be putting on thick mats, made our people begin to suspect mischief; and on that account, the marines, that they might be less liable to be surrounded or embarrassed by the natives, were removed from the crowd and drawn up among rocks close to the water side. There was that morning a swell of the sea in the bay, and more surf on the shore than usual, insomuch that the boats were obliged to lie off on their oars; the shore also consisted of uneven and slippery rocks; which were circumstances extremely inconvenient for embarking, if pressed on by an enemy. To Captain Cook personally, it was an increase of difficulty that he could not swim.

Captain Cook had hold of Kerrioboo's hand, but seeing the general unwillingness of the natives that their Chief should accompany him, as well as Kerrioboo's perplexity, he let go his hand, observing to the Lieutenant of Marines that it would be to no purpose to endeavour to persuade him to go on board, being under so much alarm, and that he must trust to other means for the recovery of the cutter. The old Chief was immediately taken away and no more seen.

seen. Captain Cook walked with the lieutenant towards the water-side, intending to embark, when a native, armed with a thick mat and a long iron spike, advanced towards him with threatening gestures. Captain Cook called to the man to keep back, but he continued to approach.

The published account, and I believe it was the same in most of the private journals, whence probably the mistake originated, has attributed a motive to Captain Cook which was not natural to the circumstance, instead of one which was. I find it said in my own journal, that Captain Cook was provoked by the man's insolence, and fired at him with small shot. The printed narrative says, 'the man persisting in his insolence, 'Captain Cook was at length provoked to fire a 'load of small shot.' Insolence is little attended to in actual and deadly hostility. Captain Cook was a man of cool discernment, at no time proud, and not likely, in a time of difficulty and danger, to give way to childish irritation. The Islander continued to draw near, and Captain Cook judged it necessary to his safety to fire, which, having a gun with two barrels, he did first with small shot. The man fired at held up his mat scoffingly, and called out "matte manoo," meaning that the gun was only fit to kill birds; *Matte* signifying to kill, and *manoo* bird. The natives then threw stones, and one of the marines was knocked down, on which Captain Cook fired off his other barrel. The throwing of stones increased,

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creased, and the Islanders began to advance on our people; Captain Cook therefore gave orders for the marines to fire. All that happened afterwards was entirely out of Captain Cook's direction, and not in his power to have altered.

The islanders at first fell back; but almost immediately, and before the marines could possibly reload, they advanced, and the stones flew thick and with great violence, being thrown with slings as well as by hand. Captain Cook waved to the pinnace, and called to those in her to leave off firing and pull close in to receive the marines on board. The noise of the surf and of the multitude made it impossible for orders to be distinctly heard. He and the lieutenant were still a little farther from the water-side than their men, and in walking down, Captain Cook was struck by an Indian behind him with a staff, on which he turned and beat the man back with his musket. He was again followed, and had called to the marines to take to the boats, when he received at the same instant a blow on the head with a club and a stab in the neck with a spike, which made him fall into the water. On seeing him fall, the Islanders gave a loud shout and rushed on the marines. Captain Cook, being no swimmer, and stunned with the blow, turned towards the rocks and was immediately surrounded by the natives, who in eagerness to have a share in killing him, snatched the daggers out of each other's hands, and were not deterred, though several

several were seen to fall by the body, from the fire kept up on them from the boats. Four of the marines were killed, and three wounded, the lieutenant the serjeant and a private. The latter could not swim, but stood in the water up to his chin, and would quickly have fallen a sacrifice, if the lieutenant had not jumped overboard out of the pinnace to his assistance, who swam to the rocks, and succeeded in bringing him off safe. With our glasses on board, we saw Captain Cook fall into the water. Some shot were fired with the great guns; but the distance, and the danger of killing our own men, made our firing ineffectual.

Our people in the pinnace had been so slow in taking alarm, and had entertained so little apprehension of danger from the Islanders, that after the first musket was fired, the pinnace put close in to the rocks to let Ka-oowa land, as he was much frightened and was earnest to go. During the latter part of this affair, and whilst our people in the boats were firing at the natives, the women brought stones to supply the men.

Two very circumstantial accounts of this misfortune have long been before the public. The present gives very little additional information, and is introduced here for the purpose of replying to a question which has often been made, whether Captain Cook was not more venturous than prudent in landing that morning. The event only has given rise to the question. To be enterprising is to

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to be venturous; but in the whole of Captain Cook's conduct in this fatal affair there is nothing of rashness or of hastiness. It was a catastrophe produced by the concurrence of many circumstances not to be foreseen. He had departed from *Owhyhee*, intending to return no more; and when he sprung his foremast, he went back with reluctance to *Karakakooa Bay*, and merely because he knew of no other harbour which would suit the occasion. If Captain Clerke had not been ill, he would not have landed that morning; and but for the accident of Nooenemar being killed, it is probable that every thing he had proposed by going on shore would have followed in the manner he had projected. The danger of landing with a small number of men, among a whole people, every great discoverer has incurred. In the whole of Captain Cook's conduct in his voyages of discovery, so far was rashness from his character, that if the event of his death had not happened in the manner it did, he would have been not less, nor less justly, celebrated for prudence and circumspection, than he has been, and is, for enterprise and perseverance. That such was the opinion entertained of his prudence by all under his command, was evident on every occasion of difficulty or danger.

From the Sandwich Islands to Kamtschatka.

We continued among the *Sandwich Islands*, after the loss of our Commander, till the middle of

of March, and then sailed to the North. On the 30th of April we anchored in the Bay of *Awatchka*, at *Kamtschatka*. Here we were most liberally supplied with provisions by the governor of *Kamtschatka*, Major Magnus Von Behm, who would accept no payment in money or in bills either on his own account or on the part of his government. Among many kindnesses shewn to us by this worthy governor, one extremely acceptable was, a large quantity of tea to the officers, and of tobacco to the seamen of the two ships.

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We left *Awatchka Bay* on the 16th of June, which was at least a month later than should have been desired. In a pursuit like ours, it was our business to have been early in the year to the North. It was the 5th of July when we arrived at *Bering's Strait*. We found, in passing the *Strait*, that a current had set us twenty miles to the North of our reckoning.

July. 5th. North of Bering's Strait.

On the 23d, in the forenoon, the wind being from the ESE. and blowing fresh, the Discovery got entangled among large loose pieces of ice, and by noon was hemmed in. Our latitude was 69° 20′. At four in the afternoon, the ice appeared close in every direction as far as could be seen, except between the South and ESE. where, at the distance of three quarters of a mile from us, the sea appeared still open. In this situation we remained only a few hours separated from the Resolution, which had kept clear. At six o'clock

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o'clock the wind veered round and came from the North, which made the ice almost immediately begin to separate, and before midnight we rejoined the Resolution in a clear sea.

We did not in this season advance so far to the North, or on the coast of either continent, as we had done the year before. On the 27th of July further attempt was relinquished, and our course bent southward.

Currents.

The current was tried at different times. On July the 12th, in latitude 68° 38′, the depth of water 29 fathoms, a current was found setting W. by N. *per* compass, at the rate of half a knot *per* hour. On the 20th, in latitude 69° 30′, and to the eastward of *Cape Lisburne*, a current was found setting to the ENE. *per* compass, nearly one knot. A rippling in the water was observed here, and much small drift-wood, which were regarded as signs of our being in or near the entrance of a river. On the 23d, when inclosed by the ice, we found, by our lead and line, that we drifted with the body of the ice towards the NW. at the rate of half a knot.

In the night of the 30th of July, we repassed *Bering's Strait*. Captain Clerke had long been in a dying state, and all hope of his amendment given up by every person on board except himself, who, when reduced to almost an absolute skeleton never wholly despaired of recovery, although as little dispirited with the prospect of dying as any man. He breathed his last on the 23d

23d of August, two days before our arrival at the harbour of *St. Peter and St. Paul*, at the early age of thirty-eight, having outlived his fellow sufferer Mr. Anderson, a little more than a year. Captain King remarks, 'the equanimity and constant 'flow of good spirits with which he bore his ill-'ness to the last hour, it may be said to the last 'minute, was some consolation to his friends.'

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I shall conclude this chapter with the mention of a journey made by a Russian to *Bering's Strait*, which has some connection with the English voyage.

In this year, 1779, and whilst the English ships were to the North, a Kossak officer named Iwan Kobelef, went to the country of the Tschuktzki. The following particulars remarked by Kobelef, are given from his journal by Professor Pallas. Kobelef crossed a bay which was eight versts broad, to a village named *Nernegin*, the inhabitants of which related to him that two ships had been there in the preceding year, (meaning the ships of Captain Cook and Captain Clerke), and they described the intercourse which had taken place. Kobelef gives the latitude where he received this account 65° 48′; he says there is little visible ebb and flow in *Bering's Strait*, but that at the *Tschuktzki Nos* (by which is intended the *Anadirski Nos*), the rise and fall is six feet. 'Considering the near 'approach of the two continents, it is surprising 'that in the *Strait*, which is still more narrowed 'by

The Kossak Kobelef.

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1779. Current in Bering's Strait.

'by the Islands in the middle, there is observed 'no very considerable ebb and flood; but merely 'a moderate current, which during the Summer 'runs from the eastern sea northward into the '*Icy Sea*; but after the month of August, the 'current runs southward, bringing with it the 'floating ice. *

An account, or notice, is also given by Kobelef of a great river in the coast of *America* to the North of *Bering's Strait*, which river is described to take a long course in a southerly direction, and its banks to be full of towns and villages.

From the above, combined with the account of Daurkin, the Tschuktzki interpreter, having passed from the continent to one of the islands in *Bering's Strait* in a sledge in the month of October, may be inferred, that, without the sea being frozen, the passage may be then choked or filled up with ice brought from the North. A week's fall of snow when the ice has settled in its station, is probably sufficient to make a surface smooth enough for that mode of travelling. Captain Cook found in the beginning of August a brisk current setting northward in the *Strait*; and in the latter part of that month, the ice was remarked to be drifting southward. In all these circumstances there is correspondence.

* *Neue Nordische Beytrage.* Vol. IV. 105, 106, 110. See also Appendix to Vol. II. of *Pennant's Arctic Zoology.*

CHAP. XXII.

Expedition of Captain Joseph Billings *into the* Icy Sea.

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SHORTLY after the voyage of Captain Cook, the Empress Katharine the IId, of *Russia*, who, as much from inclination as from policy, was a promoter and patroness of enterprise, planned an expedition for making eastern and northern discoveries. The conducting of this expedition was confided to Mr. Joseph Billings, an Englishman, who had sailed in the late voyage with Captain Cook, and had been an assistant to Mr. Bayly the astronomer, in making observations, and was therefore to be supposed well qualified for such a command.

Captain Billings received his instructions at *Petersburgh* in the autumn of 1785: his equipment was in all respects liberal; officers of his own choosing were appointed to serve under him by the Russian Admiralty; he was supplied with all necessary instruments, and with charts (in number fourteen) and journals 'of all former 'navigations from the year 1724.' * 1785.

In October he departed for *Siberia*. The part of

* *Sauer's Account of the Expeditions of Joseph Billings.* p. 1.

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1785. Billings.

of his instructions which related to the *Icy Sea* and the Tschuktzki coast, directed him, to determine the latitude and longitude of the entrance of the *River Kolyma*; thence to make use of the small vessels called Schitiki, to endeavour in them to follow the coast along the *promontory of the Tschuktzki*, as far as to the *East Cape*; but "if "coasting by sea should be found impracticable, "and the information received on the spot afforded hopes of doing it by land, he was then "to endeavour to describe these coasts by going "in winter over the ice." Directions were given to the Governors in *Siberia* to allow Captain Billings to select from among the Kossaks, such to accompany him as had before been among the Tschuktzki. The instructions say, "Some of the "Kossaks have travelled in the Tschuktzki "country, and some were even born among the "Tschuktzki. Make agreement with them, or "pay them without agreement double the sum "that is usual to pay to people hired to serve at "sea, from the time you take them under your "command till you dismiss them at the close "of the expedition; and such as shall have "offered their services voluntarily shall receive "a gratuity of one year's pay." *

These were orders befitting the liberality of an Empress. The strong understanding and natural disposition to justice of this Princess eminently appear in different parts of the instructions. In

* Art. 3d. of the Instructions. *Sauer's Appendix.*

In relation to discoveries in the sea between *Kamtschatka* and *America*, the commander is told, "Such coasts and islands as you shall be "the first to discover, and which cannot be dis- "puted by, and are not subject to, any European "Power, you are, with consent of the inhabitants "(if any), to take possession of in the name "of Her Imperial Majesty." Here is seen a clear knowledge and avowal of the right of native inhabitants; a reluctance to infringe; but not the determination to refrain which would have added, 'but you are not, without the con- 'sent of the inhabitants to take possession.' If the inhabitants did not consent, the Commander was left to act according to his own discretion. This is rendered still more remarkable by the justness of conception which appears in the language of an instruction which immediately follows. Article XVI says, "When you bring "under Russian subjection newly discovered and "independent nations or people, you are to ob- "serve the following directions. As such people "have most probably never been insulted by any "Europeans, your first care must be, to give "them a good opinion of the Russians."

Among the charts delivered to Captain Billings, was the one transmitted to *Petersburgh* by Governor Tschetchirin in 1764, shewing the discovery of Serjeant Andreef; concerning which the instructions say, 'On this chart, opposite the 'River *Kolyma*, to the North from the *Medviedski*

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'*Islands*, is marked a coast which stretches as a 'continuation of the continent of *America*. As 'you will be on the *Kolyma*, it would be useful 'if you would survey and describe the circum-'stances of this land.'

1787. Two light vessels were built at the *Kolyma*, for his navigation in the *Icy Sea*, which with the transporting of stores, occupied till the spring of 1787, before they were ready for sea. Captain Billings embarked in the largest of the two vessels, which was named the Pallas out of respect to the learned Professor Pallas, by whom the instructions given to the naturalists appointed to the expedition were drawn up. The smaller was commanded by Captain Lieutenant Saretsheff.

May. The ice broke up in the *Kolyma* that year as early as the middle of May, and gave hope of a favourable summer. In the end of the month Captain Billings began to descend the river, then greatly swoln with the melting of the snow and ice, and the navigation dangerous; the current frequently carrying the vessels with rapidity into the woods, and sometimes setting them aground

June. on overflowed islands. On the 19th of June, they were in the lower part of the *Kolyma*.

Entrance of the Kolyma. 'The waters were much abated; the depth of 'the river here was 12 fathoms; its width three 'miles, and its direction about north-east.' * In the passage down, Captain Billings was joined by

* *Sauer.* p. 70.

by Iwan Kobelef and Nicolai Dauerkin, who had been ordered to attend the expedition. The 20th of June, the vessels arrived at the place where still stood some remains of Shalauroff's winter huts and storehouses. 1787. June. Billings

On the 24th, they sailed out of the *Kolyma*. In the evening of the same day they saw floating ice, and during the remainder of the month were much impeded by ice. The 28th, they anchored in a small bay about 12 leagues eastward from the entrance of the *Kolyma*. The latitude was observed 69° 27′ N. July the 1st, at noon, they got under sail with a fresh breeze from the eastward, Sauer says, 'keeping as near the East as 'possible. At 8 P.M. Captain Billings resolved 'to shape his course North to see how the ice 'was in that direction. We observed that the 'current carried us two points to the West, 'and our soundings gradually increased from 'four to fifteen fathoms. At midnight, thick 'fog prevailed. At two A. M. on the 2d, 'we got among very thick detached pieces of 'ice, which increased upon us, and our depth 'decreased to 9 and 7 fathoms.* Wore ship, 'and bore away to the South, having lost sight 'of our consort. The ice was not so compact 'as to prevent our going farther, and from our 'shoaling the water I was inclined to think we 'should have soon fallen in with a continent or 'some

24th. In the Icy Sea.

July. 1st.

2d.

* This account of the soundings agrees with Captain Saretsheff's chart.

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1787.

Billings. In the Icy Sea.

'some island. The wind was fresh, but the 'quantities of ice kept the sea down, and the 'water was quite smooth. Captain Billings was 'fearful of being entirely hemmed in, and under 'apprehension for the safety of his consort. At '8 A.M. we got clear, and observed that the fog 'hovered over the ice only. At noon, we an-'chored in a bay we named *Wolves Bay.*' This was a few miles to the westward of their former anchorage. There can be little doubt that when the depth was found to be decreasing as they sailed to the North, they had approached near the land seen by Andreef. On the 4th, Captain Billings was rejoined by his consort. On the 7th he came to the promontory called *Barannoi Kamen.* Upon this cape, he found two tusks of the Mammont, one of which weighed 115 lbs.

Cape Barannoi Kamen.

They afterwards fell in with much ice, Sauer says, not impassable. The commander, however, thought it dangerous to proceed, and on the 20th July, the wind being then NW, rather fresh, he sent for Captain Saretsheff who commanded in the other vessel, and declared to him his determination not to attempt to go farther eastward, but to return to the *Kolyma* as soon as the wind would permit.

The farthest extent of Billings's progess eastward in this short voyage, was five leagues beyond *Cape Barannoi Kamen.*

The Cape *Barannoi Kamen,* by observations taken near it, is in latitude 69° 33′ N, and longitude 168° 54′ E. Variation observed near it 17° 40′ easterly.

40′ easterly. ‘A fresh breeze from the West,’ Sauer’s account says, ‘continued, with ice drifting to the East with the current, which now set at the rate of three miles uniformly East, till midnight of July the 25th, when we observed the current setting in the same direction at the rate of one mile, with little wind from the North-west, which shortly after veered to the North-east. Till this time we found the water fresh enough to dress food, and sometimes quite fresh. With the North-east wind we observed the current shift to the West, and the sea water became salt.’*

According to this statement, the correctness of which there appears no reason to question, from the 20th at noon to the 25th at midnight, the wind and current were favourable for exploring North-eastward; and the time of the year was the most safe season of any for proceeding. This was exactly the kind of opportunity which the unfortunate Shalauroff so long sought in vain; and it is to be presumed that if a North-east passage shall be discovered, it will be with the aid of such advantageous circumstances. Captain Saretsheff was of opinion that this was the time to have passed into the *Eastern Sea*, and he offered to Captain Billings that he would make the attempt in an open boat with six men, proposing to sleep on shore every night; but Captain Billings

* *Sauer*, p. 77—8.

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1787.

Billings in the Icy Sea. July.

Billings would not give his consent, and 'took 'the signatures of the officers in testimony, that 'it would be more prudent to return to the '*Kolyma.*' In which river the vessels re-entered on the 29th.

Having thus failed by sea, Captain Billings was required by his orders to trace the Tschuktzki coast, by travelling over the ice in winter when the sea was frozen; but he deferred making this attempt to a future year, much to the disappointment of the Tschuktzki Chiefs, who had been advertised of the expedition. It seems to have been previously settled with them, that it should be considered as one of a friendly nature, and many Tschuktzki people were at the trouble of repairing to *Tschaoon Bay*, for the purpose of trading with the Russians.

Captain Billings, his officers, and people, mounted the *River Kolyma* in boats, and afterwards travelled in parties, as horses could be procured, to *Jakutzk*, at which place the Captain arrived on the 22d of October. Here he was surprised to find one of his companions in Captain Cook's voyage, Mr. John Ledyard. Ledyard had the most romantic enthusiasm for adventure perhaps of any man in his time. He had conceived the project of travelling across both the continents, and had departed from *England* in the winter of 1786, with no other fund for his support than a subscription raised for him by Sir Joseph Banks, amounting to something more

Mr. John Ledyard in Siberia.

than £.50.* He had travelled thus far on his way through the old continent, and as Captain Billings was to undertake a voyage to *America*, he proposed to take advantage of that opportunity to be landed on the western coast, meaning to explore his way through that continent also, and on foot.

Billings.

From *Jakutzk*, he went with Captain Billings and his officers to *Jrkutzk*, and here he was apprehended, it is said, by order of the Russian Court, on suspicion of being a French spy. To spy what? and in the depth of *Siberia!* He was nevertheless sent off guarded for *Moscow*. Sauer relates, that on being apprehended, he sent to desire Captain Billings would come to him, that the Captain refused to go, and on being desired to give testimony to his not being a spy, observed, that the order for his apprehension was from the Empress, and absolute. 'Ledyard took a 'friendly leave of me, desired his remembrance 'to his friends, and with astonishing composure 'leaped into the kibitka, and drove off with two 'guards, one on each side.'

1788.

If the Empress had understood the characters of the two men, the commander of the expedition would probably have been ordered to *Moscow*, and Ledyard instead of being denied entertainment in her service, have been appointed to

* *Life of Captain James Cook.* By Andrew Kippis, D. D. &c. p. 440.

CHAP. XXII. 1788. Billings.

to supply his place. With what education I know not, but with an ardent disposition, Ledyard had a passion for lofty sentiment and description. When corporal of marines on board the Resolution, after the death of Captain Cook, he proffered his services to Captain Clerke to undertake the office of historiographer to our expedition, and presented a specimen, which described the manners of the Society islanders, and the kind of life led by our people whilst among them. He was not aware how many candidates he would have had to contend with, if the office to which he aspired had been vacant; perhaps not with fewer than with every one in the two ships who kept journals. Literary ambition and disposition to authorship led us in each ship to set up a weekly paper. When the paper in either ship was ready for delivery, a signal was made, and when answered by a similar signal from the other ship, Captain Cook, if the weather was fine, would good-naturedly let a boat be hoisted out to make the exchange, and he was always glad to read our paper, but never favoured our editors with the contribution of a paragraph. I believe none of these papers have been saved, nor do I remember by what titles we distinguished them. Ledyard's performance was not criticised in our paper, as that would have entitled him to a freedom of controversy not consistent with military subordination. His ideas were thought too sentimental, and his language too

too florid. No one, however, doubted that his feelings were in accord with his expressions; and the same is to be said of the little which remains of what he has since written more worthy of being preserved, and which its worthiness will preserve, and particularly of his celebrated commendation of women in his Siberian Tour. 1788.

Two ships were built at *Ochotzk* for the American expedition to be undertaken by Billings. In July and August, 1789, they were launched, and early in September, one of the ships went into the outer road. On the 8th of the month the other ship was got under sail for the purpose of quitting the inner harbour, at a time when there was little wind and a heavy swell; but tow lines were given to six boats, 'and at high water 'just as the tide was turning, she cast off. The 'boats towed her through the passage, keeping 'head against the swell, but the first boat when 'she got into the breakers [on the bar], shipped 'a heavy sea, and cast off her tow-line. The 'ship pitched much, and a skiff alongside had 'her head carried under water, and two men 'were washed out of her. Every boat now cast 'off her tow-line to save the men, one of whom 'only was picked up. The ship, left to the 'mercy of the swell, struck on the beach, and 'stuck fast. The masts were cut away; the tide 'ebbed fast, and she was soon left dry.* The rigging and stores were taken on shore as speedily 1789.

* *Sauer*, p. 141.

CHAP. XXII. 1789.

speedily as possible, and it was immediately resolved to sail in one ship to *Kamtschatka*, and there to build a small vessel with the materials saved of the wrecked ship.

On arriving at *Kamtschatka*, Sauer relates, that the gardens of the Kossaks were full of cabbages and other vegetables, which shows the great improvement in the mode of living introduced in that place by the visit of the English ships in 1779. He adds, 'the looks of the inhabitants 'seemed to evince health.'

CHAP. XXIII.

Billings *at the* Aleutian Islands.

1790. Billings at the Aleutian Islands.

IN June 1790, Captain Billings was at the *Aleutian Islands*, and in this visit he did the good service officially to make known the oppressions and cruelties exercised by the subjects of *Russia* over the native Islanders. The following is an extract from his journal whilst at *Oonalashka* that year:—

Extract from Captain Billings's Journal.

"In consequence of complaints made to me "in form by several people, who were sent by "Government to collect tribute of the Aleutian "Islanders, against the hunters for cruelties to the "natives, I represented the same, and received "a mandate from her Imperial Majesty to inspect "the behaviour of the merchants and hunters in "these parts. I have, in consequence, made it "my business to make inquiries into the treat-"ment the natives receive from these people; "and I have seen, as well as my officers, the "abject state of slavery in which these unfor-"tunate Islanders live under the Promyschlenics. "The company at *Oonalashka* employ all the "men of *Oonalashka* and *Sithanak* in the chace, "taking the fruits of their labour to themselves.

"There

CHAP. XXIII. 1790.

" There is no name so dreadful to the natives " as that of Peredofshik, or leader of a gang of " hunters. Immediately on their arrival, they " send the natives out on the chace, and then " take by force the youngest and most handsome " of the women for their companions." * The journal of another officer, cited by Sauer, says, " When two different parties of hunters meet, " they sometimes fight for the possession of the " natives, and sometimes join as one company. " The barbarity of these subduers to the Crown " of *Russia* is not to be described."

From the journal of another Officer.

The Aleutian Islanders.

About the year 1780, the inhabitants on the island *Kadiak*, and the islands near it, were stated by a man named Schelikoff, who was leader of a company of hunters, at 50,000. This however has been thought an exaggerated statement. In Sauer's time (*i. e.* in 1790) the inhabitants of *Kadiak* and the islands near it, 'according to the register kept of Schelikoff's 'establisment, under the direction of Delareff, 'a Greek, were about 1,300 grown males, and '1,200 youths, with about the same number of 'females.' 'Delareff informed me,' says Sauer, 'that he had now out on the chace, for the be-'nefit of the Company, upwards of 600 baidars 'of the natives, containing each two or three men. 'Besides these, small parties are sent out daily 'to fish. The females are also employed for the 'Russians. About two hundred daughters of the

* *Appendix to Sauer*, No. VII.

1790.

The Aleutian Islanders.

'the Chiefs are kept in the Russian habitations 'as hostages for the obedience of the men. The 'natives had formerly large baidars or boats, 'capable of carrying forty or fifty men. They 'have now only small baidars or canoes, none of 'which carry more than three men.'

In the year 1805, the number of Kadiak men capable of labour, was reckoned at only four hundred and fifty. It is naturally demanded, what is become of the 50,000 found here by Schelikoff in 1784? or supposing him to have doubled the number, of the 25,000? Or, to come more accurately to the point, what is become of the 1,300 grown males registered, and sent out by Delareff on the chace in 600 baidars carrying each two or three men, in 1790? The change from independence to a slavery more dreaded even than hated, the labour of compulsory and fatiguing hunting parties, the violation of all their rights, insurrections, and the perpetual anguish attendant on such evils, are causes quite sufficient to have destroyed, as it is seen they have done, nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants in the short space of fifteen years.

The pride with which this tyranny has been exercised would be highly ludicrous, were not the whole business tragical. The arrival at *Kadiak* of a superintendent of a chartered trading company, called the Russian American Company, has been thus described. As the boat which conveyed him from the ship approached the

CHAP. XXIII.

The Aleutian Islanders.

the fortress, he was saluted with repeated discharges of artillery, and welcomed with cheers from a number of youths dressed in uniform and ranged along the palisade. At the landing place he was received by three ecclesiastics, and conducted, the bells ringing all the time, to the church, where a public thanksgiving was offered up for the happy arrival of so distinguished a personage.

Mr. Coxe's history relates many instances of Russian violence, and also some of violence committed by natives; but none of the latter which afford the smallest palliation for the cruelties exercised, or for authorizing mercantile or other establishments which subject a people to the arbitrary will of any man or set of men. The Aleutian Islanders under the Promyschlenics are, both men and women, regularly registered, that no one shall escape servitude.

This is on a parallel with the *encomiendas* and *repartimientos* in Spanish America. It is the northern people of *Europe* destroying the northern people of *America*, in like manner as the southern people of *Europe*, in the early time of the discovery, destroyed the southern inhabitants of *America*.

The Russian fur hunters, trained in ferocious habits of robbing and destroying at their pleasure, and with impunity, having the ready pretence, if pretence is ever thought necessary, of collecting tribute for their Sovereign, men careless of justice

or

or of the welfare of others, yet esteeming themselves pious, and making lowly reverence at every turn to images or to crosses; these are the men who share the gains made by such barbarous usurpation, whilst the Government of *Russia*, by permitting a continuance of this progress of depopulation, not blindly, but with the evidence of its iniquity in their possession, are losers. What might palliate or be a reasonable motive for conquering the Americans is wholly wanting; the possession of one acre of American territory being no way necessary to the security of the Russian Empire. The plain and efficient remedy for the evil in its present state is, for the Russian Government to restore the remaining Aleutian Islanders and the conquered Americans their independence, and to admit the subjects of Russia to have intercourse with them in future only on a footing of equality and friendship. The effect which the relinquishing these possessions might have on the prosperity of the Russian Empire, does not in the question of right enter into the consideration; but as a matter of speculation, it may be easily conceived that encouraging the civilization and prosperity of the Americans would be repaid in commercial benefits, and that if honest trade and intercourse had been observed with them from the first discovery, much of the western part of *America*, instead of being rendered almost desert and waste, might at this time have been occupied by a numerous and

CHAP. XXIII. The Aleutian Islanders.

and industrious population, the advantages of which would have been felt in the prosperity and civilization of the eastern provinces of *Siberia.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Journey of Captain Billings *through the Country of the* Tschuktzki.

CHAP. XXIV.

1790.

IN July 1790, Captain Billings sailed from the *Aleutian Islands* northward, with the intention to acquit himself of the article of his instructions which directed him to trace the Tschuktzki coast by going in the time of winter over the ice. In the beginning of August he arrived near *Bering's Strait*, which he did not pass, but anchored in the *Bay of St. Lawrence*, which is South of the *Strait*. Most unaccountably, Captain Billings chose to make this his point of outset for tracing by land the coast to the *Kolyma*; instead of which, if he had gone in the ship as far as he could have reached with safety and without difficulty, the journey by land would have been lessened one half, and the peril of trusting himself and his company in the power of the Tschuktzki people, have been at least shortened.

August. In the Bay of Saint Lawrence.

Dauerkin and Kobelef had been ordered to repair to the *Bay of St. Lawrence*, there to wait the arrival of Captain Billings; and on the ship anchoring, some Tschuktzki people produced

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1790. August. Billings.

to him a written paper from Kobelef, who was then at the eastern promontory. Dauerkin he learnt was with his kinsfolk towards the *Anadirsk*. They were both sent for, and soon arrived, Dauerkin having in company with him, twelve large boats full of Tschuktzki people who were well provided with skins for trade, the coming of the Russians having been so long expected.

The party selected by Captain Billings to accompany him in his land journey, were two naturalists, a surgeon, a draftsman, two non-commissioned sea officers, three other men, and

12th. the interpreters, Kobelef and Dauerkin. They landed from the ship on the 12th of August in the evening, to be in readiness to set out on their journey early the next morning, Captain Billings leaving orders with Captain Saretcheff to sail with the ship to *Oonalashka*, to collect there the tribute, and afterwards to proceed to *Kamtschatka*.

13th. At daylight on the 13th, a number of baidars were launched by the Tschuktzki, and a large quantity of luggage belonging to the travellers embarked in them, Captain Billings thinking it necessary to go well provided with presents for the Tschuktzki chiefs through whose territory he might pass. For a very slender account of this journey, Sauer acknowledges himself indebted to the journal of one of the party. The following are the heads:—

'August

1790. August. Billings through the country of the Tschutzki.

'August the 13th. At nine this morning, we 'departed from the *Bay of St. Lawrence* in 'baidars, which were drawn sometimes by men, 'and sometimes by harnessed dogs running along 'the beach. We passed three villages, and 'halted at a fourth for the night. The huts 'were dug under ground, covered with earth, 'of a square form, with a fire-place in the 'middle, and four large stones made the hearth. 'We were obliged to treat with them for water, 'and for fuel to boil our food, and to pay for it 'immediately. Observing our good nature and 'want of power, they took a liking to the 'buttons on our coats, and cut them off without 'ceremony. The men were tall and stout, and 'the warrior had his arms and legs punctured. 'The women were well made, and above the 'middle size, healthy in their appearance, and 'by no means disagreeable in their persons. 'Their dress was of doe skin with the hair on, 'and one garment covered their limbs and their 'whole body. They wear their hair parted, and 'in two plaits, one hanging over each shoulder, 'their arms and face being neatly punctured.'*

'August the 14th, we crossed a bay, and 'arrived at the camp of the rein-deer Tschutzki.

'The

* In Sauer's book is the portrait of a Tschutzki woman, copied by the late Mr. W. Alexander, after an original drawing. The countenance is handsome, but has something of severity, or rather an expression of spirit and fortitude.

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1790. August. Billings through the country of the Tschutzki.

'The Chief, who is named Imlerant, appeared, 'with several old men. Two fires were made, 'and he took our commander by the hand and 'led him over one of the fires, after which he 'took off his own park [*i. e.* garment] and put 'it upon Captain Billings, who in return put a 'new shirt upon the Chief. Boiled deers' flesh 'extremely fat, was then placed before us.

'At the setting of the sun, they commenced 'racing and wrestling. The race was not for 'speed, but round a ring, and he who held out 'longest was the winner.

'The 15th, Imlerant received the following 'presents to distribute among his people: Two 'poods* of iron, two poods of tobacco, and a 'quantity of beads, ear-rings, trinkets and needles; 'and our interpreter made him comprehend, 'that in return we expected they would assist 'us with food, and conduct us in safety across 'their country.

'The 16th to the 19th, the weather was rainy; 'on the 20th the Tschuktzki had a ceremonious 'feast.' [All this time, and to the 26th, they remained in the same place.]

'On the 26th, the Tschuktzki Chief thought 'proper to move forward, and we proceeded to 'the top of a mountain two versts and 25 fathoms, 'as measured by a line. We remained here the '27th. On the 28th we proceeded and crossed 'a mountain overgrown with moss. The next 'day

* The pood is 36 lbs. avoirdupois.

'day we were joined by five tents of natives, 'and remained in this place till September the '4th. On the 10th the lakes were frozen 'over.'

1790. Billings through the Tschutzki country.

[In this manner, making small days journeys and frequently halting, the month of September passed, without any remarkable occurrence being noted, except some superstitious customs of the natives, ill understood and imperfectly described.]

September.

'October the 5th, Captain Billings and Ko- 'belef went on before with seventeen sledges 'laden with the whole of the Captain's baggage. 'On the 9th, the Tschuktzki stole the measuring 'lines.' [A letter from one of the naturalists of the party, relates that the Tschuktzki were not pleased to see the Russians take measure of their country, and therefore destroyed their measuring lines and writing materials, and would not allow of their making notes or remarks.]

October.

'On the 12th, Imlerant and his wife went 'forward with twelve sledges to overtake the 'Captain, to obtain tobacco and to desire him 'to wait for the rest of the company. We came 'this day to the *river Ugnei* which falls into the '*Bay of Klutshenie*. On the 14th, we arrived 'at the *Bay of Klutshenie*.'

Bay of Klutshenie.

It is worth noticing that the whole party departed from the *Bay of St. Lawrence* in baidars, and afterwards proceeded in sledges, whence it appears that when the Tschuktzki make this

CHAP. XXIV.

1790. October. Billings through the Tschutzki country.

long journey, they go provided with both baidars and sledges, the sledges carrying the baidars when on the land or ice, and being taken into the baidars when they journey by water. It is remarked, 'the baidars are very useful in their 'coasting excursions, being so light that four 'men can carry one which admits twelve rowers, 'and at night, they are turned keel upwards to 'serve as tents.'

A chart of Captain Billings's journey through the country of the Tschuktzki, drawn by the Captain himself, is in the possession of Mr. Faden; by which, as well as in the account given in Sauer, it appears, that Captain Billings travelled thus far, not along the sea coast, and seldom in sight of the sea except when on eminences, or when crossing the inner part of some bay or inlet. The Russian charts place a small island to the North of the *Bay of Klutshenie*, whether from information obtained in this journey, or to accord with Captain Cook's description of *Cape North*, I cannot say, but think the latter. After passing the *Bay of Klutshenie*, Billings's track departed wholly from the coast. The route does not appear to have been so dictated by him to the Tschuktzki, nor can it be supposed, as the intention of the expedition was to trace the sea coast, and to obtain knowledge of the boundary of the Tschuktzki land. It is most probable that the natives, into whose care he had committed himself and his companions, pursued their customary route; and that

1790. October. Billings through the country of the Tschutzki.

that the Captain and his whole party were by this time too much fatigued and harassed with their journey to desire their conductors to trace with them the coast to its northern extremity. They were not free from apprehension for their own safety, suspecting the Tschuktzki of wavering in their intention towards them; and they attributed their escape from this danger principally to the manly behaviour of Kobelef, who told the Tschuktzki Chiefs the suspicions entertained, and added, 'We are all ready to die if 'you so determine, but our bones will be found 'even though you burn them to ashes.'

'On the 15th of October,' continues the journal, 'we turned from the *Bay of Klutshenie* 'to the West. The 16th, on account of bad 'weather we halted. The 18th, after crossing 'a mountain we came to a considerable river 'named *Chainana*, but we were 70 versts from 'its discharge. We had this day nothing but 'raw meat, and that in a frozen state. The 21st, 'we overtook the Captain. He distributed 'presents of tobacco and other things among 'the Tschuktzki, who readily promised to treat 'us better. The 23d, the brother of the Chief 'robbed us of almost every thing that we had. 'However, he gave us plenty of meat, both 'boiled and raw.

River Chainana.

'November the 1st, we halted. The reason 'of our halting now, I was told was to kill deer 'for the parties who were going to the *Kolyma*, 'which was 250 versts distant from this place.

November.

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1790. November.

'The next day I was sent forward under charge 'of the sister of the Chief. The 5th, came to 'a large river, about which several parties of 'Tschuktzki were travelling.'

The journal goes no farther than the 5th of

1791. November; but none of the party arrived at the *Kolyma* before February.

Except ascertaining the longitude of the *Kolyma*, the expeditions of Billings have added litttle of importance to the geography of the north-eastern coast of the Tschutzki country. During the time these expeditions were performing, another Englishman who had sailed with Captain Cook in his last voyage, Lieutenant James Trevenen, having been long unemployed in this country after the peace of 1782, engaged in the service of *Russia*, expressly to be employed on Eastern discovery. Trevenen was a young man of enterprising spirit and of the most promising qualifications. On his arrival at *Petersburgh*, the plans, or the arrangements for the eastern expeditions, were not in sufficient forwardness for appointing the officers, and that he might have the benefit of full pay in the interim, the command of a sixty-four gun ship was offered him, which he accepted. Not long after this appointment, Captain Trevenen's ship was suddenly ordered to sea, on occasion of some disagreement with the Swedes, and he was killed in a battle between the Russian and Swedish fleets.

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Conclusion.

NOTICE has been taken in a former chapter (the 18th,) of the discoveries made in the *Icy Sea* since the expedition of Billings. Some account of the late voyage of Captain Kotzebue is wanting to bring the history of north-eastern discovery down to the present time. Captain Kotzebue passed *Bering's Strait* in 1816, and entered an inlet of *America* north of the *Strait*, where, in the month of August and near the time of the new moon, the tide was observed to rise and fall six feet. In the western side of the *Strait*, between *Cape East* and the small islands, a current was found setting northward at the rate of about one mile and a half *per* hour. For which information, in answer to inquiries made by me concerning the current and tides, I am indebted to both Captain Kotzebue and Captain Krusenstern. For more full and satisfactory information concerning that voyage, we must wait the publication of the Captain's journal.

There remains unknown of the coast of *Asia*, the part between *Tschaoon Bay* and the *Bay of Klutshenie*, with the exception, that the shore immediately westward of the *Bay of Klutshenie*, by Captain Cook seeing no land beyond *Cape North*,

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North, may be presumed to lie in a very westerly direction; and the shore immediately northward from *Tschaoon Bay*, as represented in the chart to Shalauroff's voyage, appears to lie in a direction something westward of North. The difference in longitude of the two Bays is seven degrees and a half, which with the difference in latitude makes the direct distance between them, about 55 leagues.

The sea North of *Bering's Strait* between *Asia* and *America* has in some respects the character of a mediterranean sea; on which subject I presented a memoir to the Royal Society in August 1817, which was read before the Society on the 11th of December following. I particularize these dates because I am not willing it should be supposed the memoir was written with a view to controversy. At the time it was presented, and when it was read, I had not the slightest conception, that expeditions for the discovery of north-eastern or north-western passages were about to be undertaken from this country. The memoir was, in the most material parts, composed of extracts from the treatise, then in manuscript, which I now make public. I had no theoretical partialities on the subject; but I proposed to reclaim as a questionable matter what had been decided upon without sufficient ground.

About thirty years ago, the pretended discoveries of a pretended Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, which had been repeatedly rejected on all hands,

hands, became afresh a subject of interest and discussion, in consequence of a manuscript being discovered at *Cadiz* by the late Captain Mendoza, purporting to be a copy of Maldonado's narrative. A memoir on this manuscript was presented by M. Buache to the French Academy, before whom it was read in November 1790. This was a revival of a story which had never obtained an equal share of notice with the relations of Juan de Fuca and Bartolomé de Fonte. There is no dispute that such a person as Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado existed, but there is cause to conclude that the narrative in question was written by some other person, who made use of Maldonado's name to give a face of probability to his invention. Maldonado's discoveries again seem to be abandoned; but they called, or rather recalled, into notice, the general question of a North-western passage to the *Pacific Ocean.*

It seems the general belief at present, that if a navigable northern passage shall be found from the *Atlantic* to the *Pacific Ocean*, the entrance into the *Pacific* will be through *Bering's Strait.* The possibility of a navigable strait from *Hudson's Bay* to the West coast of *America* may reasonably be doubted; for in a course through so great an extent of country, the washing down of soil by rivers and rains would be continually operating to close it. If there exist a passage from *Hudson's Bay* to the *Pacific*, it is most probably first to the Sea

Sea North of *America*, and afterwards by *Bering's Strait*. The longest navigable straits which appear on our maps are, the one which divides *Nova Zembla*, and that which separates the *Tierra del Fuego* from *Patagonia*. Of the first, we have little, indeed no certain, knowledge. The *Magalhanic Strait* is extremely well known, and by the remarkable correspondence of the opposite coasts in their parallel position, through so much change of direction, being likewise similar in their steepness, it may very naturally be conceived to have been formed by a settlement of the foundation of the original South extremity of the continental land, causing a separation and deep fissure. As no current is observed to run through constantly one way, this also may be supposed in progress, however slowly, of being filled up.

Of two positions advanced in my memoir, one, 'that there does not exist satisfactory proof 'of a separation of *America* and *Asia* having 'been demonstrated by an actual navigation 'performed,' is treated as a fact, and evidence produced in its support: the second, 'that there 'is cause to suppose *Asia* and *America* to be 'contiguous, or parts of one and the same con-'tinent,' could only be proposed as conjecture.

The Quarterly Review took interest in the subject, and combated both the positions. The first has been dwelt on at sufficient length in various parts of this work. I shall however notice

notice a misapprehension in the Review, in attributing to me an opinion I never professed, or entertained; that of doubting that the departure of Deschnew from the *Kolyma* in 1648, was *by sea*. The Review seems to have misconceived the point in dispute, and to have regarded the departure of Deschnew by sea from the *Kolyma*, and his subsequent arrival at the *East Cape*, as sufficient evidence that *Asia* and *America* are separate continents; but intermediate circumstances are necessary. The only proof that can be admitted as indisputable of a separation, must be the ascertainment of a continuity of sea clear round the coast of *Asia* from the *Kolyma* to *Bering's Strait*. This, it is evident, has never been proved to the conviction of the Russian government.

The Review has paid me the unmerited compliment of being the first to make public the opinion that *Asia* and *America* might be contiguous; which whether mistakenly attributed or not, is of little moment, but it is accompanied with remarks which it may be proper to shew were made hastily and without due examination.

The Review says, 'the second point of Captain 'Burney's creed is in direct opposition to facts 'stated in the journals of Captains Cook, Clerke, 'Gore, and King; nay, we conjecture, directly 'at variance with the journal of Mr. Burney, 'who was Lieutenant in the Discovery; and 'we are therefore inclined to believe that the

'opinion

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'opinion now for the first time made public, "that *Asia* and *America* are contiguous, and "parts of one and the same continent," is the 'result of trusting to recollection.'

A reply to this charge is furnished in the journal of Captain Cook, who has said, 'To the 'North of *Cape Prince of Wales* we found neither 'tide nor current, either on the American or 'the Asiatic coast, though several times looked 'for. This gave rise to an opinion entertained 'by some on board our ships, that the two coasts 'were connected either by land or by ice; which 'opinion received some strength by our never 'having hollow waves from the North, and by 'our seeing ice almost the whole way across.'* The conjecture that the Old and New World might form but one continent is almost as old as the discovery of *America*. Captain John Davis, the celebrated north-west discoverer, in a small treatise entitled, *The World's Hydrographical Description*, printed in 1595, speaking of a North-west passage 'having been often attempted, and 'never performed,' remarks, 'whereby we may 'persuade ourselves that *America* and *Asia* are 'so conjoined together that it is impossible for 'any such passage to be: but if the continents 'are disjoined, whereof there is small hope, yet 'the impediments of the climate wherein the 'same is supposed to lie, are so offensive, that 'all hope thereby is utterly excluded.' In some of

* *Captain Cook's Third Voyage.* Vol. II. pp. 521—2.

of the early maps, mountains in *Asia* are thus noted:—'It is not known where this chain of 'mountains ends, or whether they are not joined 'to some other continent.' The idea was obvious, and nothing was known to render it improbable.

To collect into one view the reasons for believing there is land to the North of *Bering's Strait* and of Captain Cook's track, I make the following brief recapitulation:—1st, the extended direction of the coast of the main body of the ice, and its state; compact when first seen, and perceptibly loosened and separating two days afterwards, which indicates its having been recently detached from a coast of land; 2nd, the flight of birds from the North; 3d, the equal soundings along a large portion of the track sailed from the coast of *America* towards the coast of *Asia*, at a depth corresponding with a distance of between 20 and 30 leagues from the land; 4th, the smallness of current and general stillness of the sea North of the strait, found in two successive seasons, although in the Sea of *Kolyma*, both in Shalauroff's and Billings's voyage brisk currents were observed, which difference is some argument against the probability that the two seas communicate. To these is to be added native information, which whether traditional or from present report, generally merits attention; the chief danger is of its not being rightly comprehended.

It may be remarked that in the most northern line

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line of Captain Cook's track, the depth of water was 28 and 29 fathoms; and southward of that line we afterwards had soundings at 30 fathoms. This may be too slight a difference from which to argue a decrease in the soundings northward, as soundings in equal depths taken under different circumstances, will sometimes vary no less from want of correct allowance being made for the oblique direction of the sounding line. It is nevertheless an indication of land to the North, that in that direction the soundings were not found to increase.

The current in Bering's Strait, from all that has been observed, is periodical; were it perpetual, its moderate rate through a channel neither wide nor deep, could contribute little towards a current in the Greenland Seas. This I remark, because a southerly current, which has been observed at particular seasons of the year along the eastern coast of *Greenland*, has been supposed to be constant, and to be supplied from the *Pacific* through *Bering's Strait*. I have, however, understood from Captain Scoresby, senior, that the southerly current between *Greenland* and *Spitzbergen* is not perpetual; that it prevails in the latter part of the summer and autumn, but that at other seasons of the year there are variable currents in that sea, and sometimes northerly. This seems what might naturally be expected; for from the beginning of October to the end of May, the snow, hail, or wet,

wet, that falls on the northern parts of *Asia*, *Europe* and *America*, congealing where it falls, is continually accumulating. The same happens during much of that time over nearly the whole surface of the sea to the North. In Zeno's discovery of *Friesland* it is said, 'the first snow 'being fallen, it thaweth no more for the space 'of nine months.' The descriptions of *Siberia* almost all give testimony to the country being deluged with the breaking up of the winter. The sudden dissolution of eight or nine months fall on a space to be estimated fifty degrees of the meridian in diameter, in which is comprehended the melted snows discharged into the arctic seas, from the rivers and mountains along the whole range of the northern shores of both the continents, must elevate the waters, and make them press to the openings which will admit of their escape.

In this mode of considering the collection of a long winter and its rapid dissolution, it seems extraordinary that the southern current should begin so late in *Bering's Strait* as the end of August; or that so late as in the middle of August a current should be still running through the *Strait* northward. This may be supposed attributable, in some degree, to the exhalations which furnish the fogs that reign over the shallow seas to the North, causing a supply to be demanded from the deeper waters of the South. It is also open to another inference, *i. e.* that the

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waters have vent by some other channel or channels. Favourable to this last, is the current which was observed to the northward and eastward of *Cape Lisburne*, setting eastward at the rate of nearly one knot, which though so gentle was against an easterly wind, and was the strongest current remarked by us in that sea except in the *Strait*. We did not again try the current in that part, which, if it could have been done, might have ascertained whether it ran constantly at that time of the year (July) eastward, or was only the set of a tide.

The shallowness of the sea near the North coast of *Asia*, the freshes discharged into it from many large rivers, and the coast fronting the North, render it more liable to be frozen than the seas of *Greenland* and *Spitzbergen* in a much higher latitude. The northern lands in the *Icy Sea* are impediments to the dispersion of the ice, and hence arises the great difficulty of navigation in that sea.

Muller remarks the general flatness of the coast of the *Icy Sea*, the shallowness of the bottom near the shore, with the slow gradual increase of depth outward, and adds, that the sea is receding from the land in that part. 'Wood,' he says, 'is found cast on shore to such heights 'as could not now be reached by any wave or 'flood, and not far to the West of the entrance 'of the *Jana*, there is said to lie an old kotsche 'five versts within the present border of the sea, 'which

'which proves the truth of the general observa-
'tion, that the water in the sea decreases.' It is not, strictly speaking, the sea that recedes. The alluvial deposite in an annually flooded country will make the shore advance upon the sea; but to another cause is to be attributed the floating substances, instanced by M. Muller being found so far within the coast. All the accounts of high northern voyages, give example of extraordinary effects produced by the pressure of bodies of ice against each other; as in the case of packed ice; of vessels wedged out of the sea like that of Willem Barentz's. On a flat shelving shore, it is impossible to prescribe how far inland low field ice, with whatsoever may be upon it, shall not be driven by the pressure of other ice forced by tempestuous weather towards the land.

The resemblance found in some words of the language of some of the western Americans, to words of the same meaning in the languages of the Eskimaux and Greenlanders, and the resemblance of certain customs, especially in the symbolic use of the calumet, and in the form and management of their canoes, are undoubted signs of a chain of communication from the westernmost part of *America* to *Greenland**.

Communication

* It may be presumed, to the most Eastern part of *Greenland*. About forty years ago, a ship from Whitby sailed through the ice to the East coast of *Greenland*, in or near the latitude of 75° N, and a man in a canoe came from an opening in the land, who

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Communication however spreads among the North American tribes in all directions, and if impeded in its progress along the sea-coast by any high northern projection of the land, it would not be wholly stopped, but would find its way in other channels. Tribes of Eskimaux as well as other American tribes, frequent lakes and the banks of rivers at a considerable distance from the sea-coast. The most northern line of American communication may very probably, like the most northern line of Asiatic communication, be mostly

who stopped at a distance to look at the ship. The Captain lowered a boat into the water on the off side of the ship, which making a circuit unperceived by the Greenlander, intercepted his retreat to the shore, and he was taken to the ship. The Captain determined to carry him to *England*, as a specimen of the northern inhabitants of *Greenland*, and, although the man made it understood that he had a wife and family on shore, sailed with him from the coast. The Captain failed in his purpose, for the poor Greenlander died within the week. Captain Scoresby, senior, from whom I had this account, says it was fresh in men's memories, and much spoken of by people in the Greenland trade when he first went into that employ. To avoid mistake, I wrote in the middle of the present month (April) a letter directed for Captain Scoresby, senior, at *Whitby*. I have been favoured with an obliging answer from his son, by which I learn, that the senior Captain Scoresby has sailed for the Greenland seas in a fine vessel, his own property; and it is believed with intention, if the season shall prove favourable, 'of ascer-'taining the extent to which the polar seas are navigable 'towards the North. He has taken near sixty men, and two or 'three months provisions extra.' Captain Scoresby, junior, is at this time preparing for the press, with many advantages of information, a History of *East* and *West Greenland*.

mostly, and not entirely, by water. In what is known of the languages of the western Americans, the resemblance to that of the Eskimaux and Greenlanders, is perceptible in only a small proportion of words, and not sufficiently close for the Eskimaux and western natives to be supposed derived from the same stock, unless at a very remote period; whereas the similitude of language between the Eskimaux and Greenlander is close and general. All nations readily adopt or imitate the convenient practices of their neighbours that are suitable to their own circumstances, and customs of general convenience have doubtless so become established throughout the whole world, which I conceive to be the fact with respect to decimal arithmetic. The same flag of peace (the white flag of truce) is used by all the nations of *Europe*, and is the European calumet. Contrasted with this readiness to follow examples of manifest convenience, is the strong adherence of nations to their own particular superstitions, and in this respect the Americans with perforated lips are in a remarkable manner distinct from all other Americans.

Bering's Strait being regarded as the most probable opening on the western side of *America*, by many as the only probable one, for an entrance into the *Pacific* by a northern navigation from *Europe*; and on the eastern side of *America* there being many inlets and arms of the sea unexplored, of which a very small proportion can be

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be expected to lead to *Bering's Strait*; it follows, that the best chance for discovering a passage, or for discovering that there is no passage, is by commencing on the other side of *America*. On this side of *America*, the question can only be set at rest by the discovery of a passage; for twenty expeditions with the most favourable seasons, would be insufficient for ascertaining that there is no passage.

Two centuries ago, the northern coast of *Asia* was as little known to the people of *Europe* as the North coast of *America* is at present. By degrees the Russian hunters spread along the sea shore till they became acquainted with all the attainable coast, and on various parts established habitations and towns. The English and Anglo American hunters are at present in the like manner spreading over the northern regions of *America*, and by their enterprizes, if not anticipated by other expeditions, the whole North coast will probably come to be known ere the end of the present century.

FINIS.

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London.

00083829

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 28 September, 2015